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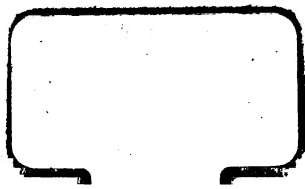
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Arthur M. Freeman.

Gordon.

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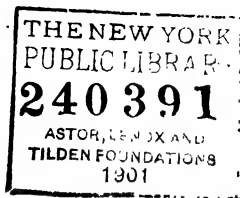
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## P R E F A C E.

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THIS Reader is designed to supply an equivalent for Xenophon's *Anabasis*, which is now almost universally read in preparation for American colleges. It surely needs no argument to show that a better knowledge even of the elements of a language is gained from a variety of styles than from a single author, or that even the briefest course of reading is the better for exhibiting the higher qualities of the literature which it represents. The fact that the *Anabasis* is accessible in carefully prepared editions has given it a prominence in our schools which neither its literary merit nor its historic importance could justly claim; and its exclusive reign has not been without its injurious effect on our scholarship.

Xenophon and Herodotus are perhaps the only strictly classic prose-writers of Greece who can be studied with success by beginners, except in selected passages. Demosthenes and Thucydides are by no means as well adapted as Cicero and Caesar to the attainments of young students; and Plato must be divested, to a great extent, of his philosophic robes before he can enter our schoolrooms. It will therefore surprise no one that so large a part of the present work is given to Xenophon and Herodotus.

We have attempted to select characteristic passages from

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the four authors included in the work, and at the same time to admit nothing which a diligent scholar cannot reasonably be expected to master in the first two years of his Greek studies. We have given the Third and Fourth books of the *Anabasis* entire, as being the most interesting part of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand, and as admirably adapted by its simplicity of style for elementary drill. Then follows the greater part of the Second Book of the *Hellenica*, describing the capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander, the tragic end of the long Peloponnesian war in the destruction of the Piræus and of the Long Walls of Athens—the pride of Themistocles and Pericles—to the insulting music of flutes, the odious rule of the Thirty Tyrants, with the expulsion of the oligarchy and the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus and his band of exiled patriots from Phyle; to which are added the last sections of the *Hellenica*, describing the battle of Mantinea and the death of Epaminondas.

Next comes the first chapter of the *Memorabilia*, giving the character of Socrates as drawn by Xenophon, followed by the last section of the same work. The short extracts from Plato which follow consist of the final address of Socrates to his judges from the *Apology*, and the narrative part of the *Phædo* describing the last hours of the great philosopher.

The selections from Herodotus are in four parts. The first contains the account of the invasion of Darius and the battle of Marathon. The three others contain the most important passages in the Seventh and Eighth books, forming a continuous account of the invasion of Xerxes,—the pomp of the Great King's preparation; the march of the mighty host from Asia to Greece, including bridging

the Hellespont and cutting the canal through Athos; the preparations of the terrified Greeks; the wisdom of the Delphic oracle and the craft of Themistocles; the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis; and finally the ignominious retreat of Xerxes from Salamis to Asia. The campaign of Mardonius in the following year, with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, is omitted for want of space. In thus condensing two long books of Herodotus into so small a compass, great pains have been taken to avoid abrupt transitions; and often single sentences have been taken from a chapter to keep up the continuity of the narrative. It is hoped that the wonderful story of the campaign of Xerxes has thus been presented to the pupil in greater vividness and completeness than it could have been by detached extracts.

The passage from Thucydides has been abridged by omitting the speeches, and such parts of the narrative as are not essential to the main account. As there is no continuous passage of this length in Thucydides which does not contain difficulties of construction or style too great for beginners, occasional liberties have been taken in omitting sentences or even clauses which are not essential to the story, simply to avoid difficulties. There is perhaps no other part of Thucydides from which so simple a narrative passage of equal interest with this story of Pylus could have been taken.

Although this Reader is especially designed for those who are preparing for college, with a view of giving them the best material afforded by the Greek literature to enliven the course of their earlier studies, it is yet hoped that it may be of use also to those whose study of Greek must be confined to the school or academy. It is especially

hard for such persons to spend a year or more in reading Greek, but to see nothing except the *Anabasis*,—a story of an expedition saved from oblivion chiefly by a skilful retreat,—when the great deeds of Marathon, Thermopylae, and Salamis, Leonidas and his Three Hundred, Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Socrates, and Epaminondas are equally within their reach. For such, and indeed for all who may use the work, we desire that it may “enlarge and not belittle the notion of what a classic language and literature mean. The best justification of classical study, after all, is not its value as a means of mental discipline, but that it combines that discipline with some guiding of the mind towards the higher interpretation of history and the deeper lessons of human life.”

The notes make no pretension to learning, and aim merely at aiding beginners in laying a solid foundation for future scholarship. The grammatical aid is given chiefly in the form of references, in which alone it can be systematic. No notes can supply all the collateral information needed for the full understanding of an ancient historian. Constant reference should be made to a classical dictionary and to some Greek history. It may be too much to expect of school-boys in these days that they should read a history like that of Grote; but we cannot too strongly recommend all who wish to catch the true spirit of the history they are studying, to read Grote's graphic account of the Persian wars with Herodotus, his story of Pylus and Cleon with Thucydides, and his chapters on the Thirty Tyrants and on Epaminondas with Xenophon's *Hellenica*. Many parts too of his chapter on Socrates (in vol. viii.) would be appreciated by every thoughtful reader of the extracts here made from the *Memorabilia* and from Plato. We

believe, further, that the time spent in reading these chapters of Grote would be more than saved by their aid as a commentary to the Greek text, while the increased interest which they would awaken might often change the study from a task to a pleasure.

It is of course impossible in notes like these to give special credit for every remark which is wholly or partly borrowed. We must therefore express, once for all, our obligations to the long and familiar line of commentators on Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plato; and last, not least, to Grote, from whose notes many valuable hints have been derived which could not be acknowledged by quotation-marks. The maps at the end of the volume are chiefly copied from larger maps in Kiepert's "Atlas von Hellas."

No Poetry has been added to this Reader, partly because the masterpieces of Greek Poetry are nearly all accessible in a convenient form, but chiefly because no ancient poetry is so well adapted to the minds of youth as the Homeric poems, which every scholar should carry with him to college without abridgment. One great advantage of the extended course of preparatory study which, it is to be hoped, all our best colleges will soon expect of those who intend to be classical scholars will be the more thorough acquaintance with Homer which young men will thereby gain before they enter college.

In the extracts from Xenophon, the chapters and sections are numbered as they are in recent editions. The other selections are divided into new sections as they stand, and numbered accordingly. In all cases (except in Plato), the numbers of the original chapter and section with which the right-hand page ends are given at the top of the page.



No special lexicon is added to the volume, partly from the impossibility of making a really complete small lexicon to such a variety of authors, but chiefly from the belief that the use of a partial lexicon is injurious to sound scholarship. We do not refer to such special works as are really more full than a general lexicon, which are often invaluable in reading a difficult author; but to such imperfect glossaries as are sometimes expected at the end of a Greek Reader. The abridgment of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, which admirably combines convenience in size with completeness and exactness in definitions, is now so easily accessible, that all difficulty in this respect is happily removed.

THE EDITORS.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., July, 1871.

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# XENOPHON.

## I. RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.

[Anabasis, III., IV.]

### BOOK THIRD.

I. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὲ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διείργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προυδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνον δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἰππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθεῖη. 3. ταῦτα ἐννοοῦμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἤλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεῦδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν, ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσκειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦνται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μή τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφούς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνοι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοὺς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιάτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα, πότερον λῶον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. Ἐπεὶ μὲντοι οὕτως ἦρον, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξέπλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κύρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδὸν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπrouθυμεῖτο μείναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθύς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. 10. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι

ὁ στόλος εἷη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ ἄκοντες, ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. **11.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπείτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν. μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. **12.** περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνους φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβείτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. **13.** ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· Τί κατάκειμαι; ἢ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξειν. εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὑβρίζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; **14.** ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἔξον ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, εἰ μὴ τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

**15.** Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακείσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἴοις ἐσμέν. **16.** οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν

πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. **17.** καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πύρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὥς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντας, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; **18.** ἂρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὥς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεύσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τρι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. **19.** Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὥς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· **20.** τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἥδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. **21.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελῦσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἅθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ᾧσιν, ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, ἔσονται. **22.** οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὀρώντες ἀγαθὰ, στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις.



**23.** Ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων, καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. **24.** ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταύτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. **25.** καὶ γὰρ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέτετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.

**26.** Ὁ μὲν ταύτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλεῖα πείσας, εἰ δύναιτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. **27.** ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύ γε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. **28.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι, ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; **29.** ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκείνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἂν σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι

κελεύοντας φλυναρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας ;  
**30.** ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκευὴ ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιούτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλλην ὦν τοιούτός ἐστιν. **31.** Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφύλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὦτα τετρυπημένον. καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. **32.** τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν.

**33.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. **34.** ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὦν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', εἶφη, καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. **35.** ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνειλίφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἦν δύνωνται ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὡς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. **36.** εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται

οὔτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρώσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔφονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμεῖσθαι. **37.** ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιούν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δέη. **38.** καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνήσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθεῖητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἶπειν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. **39.** ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάννυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. **40.** νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακίας· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. **41.** ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. **42.** ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλήθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. **43.** ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁπόσοι

μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχροῦς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. 44. ἂ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμεν, αὐτοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.

45. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναίων εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. 47. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκὰς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. 2. Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα, καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν,

πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς· 3. ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσθαι ὅπως ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν. 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτοκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἡδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλεῖα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. 6. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὁρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα, τοῦτο ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πάσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾶν δέοι, ὁρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. 8. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτοκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν

λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρώντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασιν δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντός πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ἤξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους, οἳ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. 11. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.

12. καὶ εὐζάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαίρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. 14. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς καταισχύnete αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 15. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. 16. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ, ὅποτε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; 17. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δ' ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. 18. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμή-



θητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοί εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. **19.** οὐκοῦν τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμονται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἣν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. **20.** Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἴσονται ὅτι, ἣν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. **21.** τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὗτοι παρεῖχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἣνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. **22.** Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρεῖττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιθήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοὶ, ἣν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίγνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. **23.** Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμόν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας

πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαμβάνοντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. 24. καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσείη γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθόμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἔξον αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὀράν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστὶ. 27. Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. 28. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵν' ὡς πλείστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια·

ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. **29.** Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. **30.** δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοῖς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. **31.** ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσησθε τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδεὶς ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶ εἶναι. **32.** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵν' ἔργῳ περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ, τολμάτῳ καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

**33.** Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξίσται ποιεῖν· ἂ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. **34.** Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν. ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. **35.** οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι—ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας

φεύγουσιν — εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν.  
**36.** ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον  
 ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς  
 ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾗ. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖη τίνα  
 χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ  
 τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυ-  
 λαεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν βουλευέσθαι  
 ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρώμεθ' ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. **37.** εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
 Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοίτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι·  
 τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τὸ πρεσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ  
 ἐπιμελοίσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ  
 τε καὶ Τιμασίῳν, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. **38.** τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμε-  
 νοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὃ τι ἂν ἀεὶ κράτι-  
 στον δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξύτω.  
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνα-  
 τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **39.** Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη,  
 ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν  
 τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ,  
 πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ κατακαίνειν,  
 τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστί· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ  
 χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων  
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμ-  
 βάνειν.

**III.** Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες  
 κατέκαον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηναίς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν  
 ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς  
 τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο.  
 ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἵππευ-  
 σιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς

ἐπήκοον, λέγει ὧδε. 2. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειράτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἐγινώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα. 5. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὥχετο ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζῶνους. 7. καὶ προσήει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἔξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες

εἶσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύ-  
 τερα ἡκόντιζον ἢ ὥς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. **8.** ἐκ  
 τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν  
 τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπι-  
 σθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν  
 πολεμίων. **9.** οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε  
 οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο κατα-  
 λαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. **10.** οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι  
 ἱππεῖς, καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύ-  
 οντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅποσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. **11.** ὥστε  
 τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι στα-  
 δίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας. Ἐνθα δὲ πάλιν  
 ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἡτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον  
 ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. **12.** ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι  
 ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. Ἄλλ’  
 ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἡναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ  
 μένειν κακῶς μὲν πᾶσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους.  
**13.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδίωκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς  
 μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους,  
 ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάννυ χαλεπῶς. **14.** τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις  
 ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε  
 βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. **15.** νῦν  
 γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε  
 οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ’ χειρὸς βάλλον-  
 τες ἐξικνεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ  
 οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ  
 δὲ, οὐδ’ εἰ ταχὺς εἴη, πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ

τόξου ῥύματος. **16.** Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευμένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. **17.** ἐκεῖναι γάρ, διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνούνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥοδιοὶ καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσις ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. **18.** ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψόμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. **19.** Ὅρῳ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **20.** Καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

**IV.** Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῶαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. **2.** διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ᾗτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ

πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπεΐχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εἴρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμνηε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὁρᾶν. 6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 7. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ᾠκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασύγγαι· ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμααῖς· κρητὶς δ' ὑπὴν λιθίνη, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐύλω. 9. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας ἑξ, πρὸς τείχος ἔρημον μέγα



πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. **11.** ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφοδόμητο πλίνθινων τείχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. **12.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

**13.** Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. **14.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. **15.** ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προυθυμεῖτο ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. **16.** Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. **17.** μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς

Κρησὶ, καὶ διετεέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδύνας.

**18.** Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.

**19.** ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐστίν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἡ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὔσης, ἡ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἡ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας. **20.** ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχι τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πύσχοντας, πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν, ἡ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. **21.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. οὕτω δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι οἱ λοχαγοὶ, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. **22.** ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, — εἰ μὲν στενωτέρον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντη-

κοστῦς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰὲ ἐκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. **23.** εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινα δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φύλαγος, ἐπιπαρήεσαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

**24.** Ἦνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθήκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν κώμη. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων· **25.** ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρανὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· **26.** καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῆτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. **27.** ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνουῦνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. **28.** πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. **29.** ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθεῖσαν καὶ ἀμφοτίρωεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι. **30.** Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ

δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. **31.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον.

**32.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι οἱ τετρωμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες, καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξάμενοι. **33.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον ἐκ χώρας ὀρμώντες ὑλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευόμενοι ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.

**34.** Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς. **35.** πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτός ἐστι στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἳ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν· εἰάν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. **36.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγαγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει

λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. **37.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναξεύξαντες, καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἣ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παρίεναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

**38.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατεिल्μημένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς, καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. **39.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενρον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἡρώτα, Τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; **40.** ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. **41.** Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφὼν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἔσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήξεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. **42.** Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφὼν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ οἱ

συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν.

**43.** Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστῆς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

**44.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι, ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.

**45.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

**46.** Ξενοφῶν δὲ, παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκελεύετο·

Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. **47.** Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. **48.** καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφε-

λόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπίσθεν παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένοις. **49.** οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παύουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ἠνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

**V.** Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ

ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ὑποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὄχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δαίτη, ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελίφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κάειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμηςάν τινες, ἐννοούμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια, εἰ κάοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ κάειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ κάουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλίπωσιν γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτίδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν. Οὐκ οὐκ ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, κύωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηναὺς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρα-

κισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. **9.** ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, διςχιλίων δεῖσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ὑποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥαδίως ἂν πιρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. **10.** δεῖσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρήσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἄσκους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἄσκον λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορίσω· **11.** ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μίλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἄσκος δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ σχήσει. **12.** Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἰππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. **13.** ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν, εἰς τοῦμπαλιν [ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα], εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήεσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλαινον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν.

**14.** Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνήλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. **15.** οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑὼ ἐπὶ Σοῦσὺ τε καὶ Ἐκβίτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς· ἡ δὲ διαβίντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη, ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. **16.** τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως



οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμιγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. 17. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. 18. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν, συσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἡνὶκ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

#### BOOK FOURTH.

I. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδίλωται. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν, διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πύροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 3. ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων

ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλονται, περιάσι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθύσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

5. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηλικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως, πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 6. ἔνθα δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. 7. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ' ὑψηγέιτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβύλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κόμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων. 8. Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν Καρδούχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδούχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπείπερ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν. 9. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κόμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου, ἤδη σκοταῖοι, — διὰ γὰρ τὸ

στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδόν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας, — τότε δὲ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. **11.** εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἡλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. **12.** Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθούσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἴδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τᾶλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφείναι. **13.** σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τὴν πορείαν, πολλὰ ὄντα, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτίθεται ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

**14.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὐρίσκουσιν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμίας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. **15.** εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὥπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. **16.** καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχά-

ζοντες, σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο.

**17.** Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἴη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. **18.** καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν. **19.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμὸν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ἡτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε κῶγαθῷ ἀνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. **20.** ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ' αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁρᾶς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἑκβασιν. **21.** ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. **22.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἀνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτεínaμεν τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσαιμεθα.

**23.** Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες εἴ τινα εἶδειεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, μῦλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἐτέρου

κατεσφάγη. 24. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγάτηρ ἐκεί παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσασθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. ἐρωτώμενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. Ἐν ταῦθα ἐδόκει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐβελοντῆς πορεύεσθαι. 27. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὺς, ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρρίσιος Ἀρκὰς, καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐβελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. 28. ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστεάς Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

II. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δεῖλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δισχιλίοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγείτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἐκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιμόντες. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθαφύλα-

κες, ἣν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγγανον δὲ καὶ ἀνύριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπάυσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.

5. Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύκλῳ περιμόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαυόντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανεράᾳ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ἀλαλάξαντες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὗζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἣ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο

ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὅπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.

**10.** Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνέπορεύθησαν ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι.

**11.** ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις, προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται φεύγειν.

**12.** καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουνσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.

**13.** Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πύλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν, — ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα, — καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν.

**14.** Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν, πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος, ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐβελοντῶν.

**15.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουνσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστὸν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπώπτευνον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὅπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.

**16.** καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεω-

τάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν, καὶ προσελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπε.

**17.** Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. **18.** ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἦκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει. **19.** οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ κύειν τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῆι, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύσαν. **20.** ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειτο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν. **21.** Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὺς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ, ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον. **22.** Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. **23.** Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωκαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς.



24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. 25. ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλue τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων. 26. ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων, ἔλue τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρείχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. 28. ἄριστοι δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλεόν ἢ διπήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

III. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ὑλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι, ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ ἧ ἐπὶ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τὰπιτήδεια ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ

τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὥς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁρῶσιν ἱππέας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς κωλύοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι. ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. 5. αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέιχον. ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος. ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλους λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, — καὶ οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἥρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός. ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾶλλα βέλη, — ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. 8. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν. ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅποσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. ὁ δὲ ἥδετό τε καὶ ὡς τά-

χιστα ἕως ὑπέβαινον, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

**10.** Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ᾗδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξεῖη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ εἰ καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

**11.** καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κᾶπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν, ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, γέροντά τε καὶ γυναιῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας, ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. **12.** ἰδοῦσι δέ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεύσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. ἐκδύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβύντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. **13.** Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφὼν αὐτὸς τε ἔσπενδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ' εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτά. **14.** ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐβουλευόντο ὅπως ἂν κύλλιστα διαβαίην, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν πύσχοιεν κακόν. **15.** καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ

καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διύβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι.

**17.** Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήεσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διύβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς, ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. **18.** καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντιες ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ἐτόξενόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἄλλ' οὐπω ἱξικνούντο. **19.** ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι. **20.** Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἱππέας. **21.** οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρώντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, δέισαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθείησαν, φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἔκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. **22.** Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. **23.** Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἐξέβαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς

ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρώντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

**24.** Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὥς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. **25.** καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. **26.** καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγούς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. **27.** Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὥς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάττον δὴ ἐπῆσαν ὠδὰς τινὰς ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. **28.** ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας, ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὥς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. **29.** τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνηται καὶ ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

ὁ σαλπικτὴς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα, ἣ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. **30.** οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὀρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιποὺς, — πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὄχοντο, ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν, — ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. **31.** οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥπλισμένοι ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. **32.** ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτὴς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάπτον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τάναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. **33.** τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. **34.** οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

**IV.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. **2.** εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλη τε ἦν, καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπήσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. **3.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος

ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς παρα-  
 σάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ'  
 ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν  
 ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ  
 πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ὕπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ  
 βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος  
 βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. οὗτος προσήλασεν  
 ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο  
 διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν  
 ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι.  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτε ἐκείνους κἀκεῖν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβά-  
 νειν τε τὰ πικρὰ ὅσων δέοιεντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατη-  
 γοῖς, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου,  
 παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει,  
 ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίου· καὶ  
 ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς πολλῶν  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. 8. στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν,  
 γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκη-  
 νῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἑώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔδοκει εἶναι διὰ  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτή-  
 δεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς ἐνώ-  
 δεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαν-  
 νυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοικεν  
 στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. ἔδοκει  
 δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ  
 συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον·  
 καὶ γὰρ ἔδοκει διαιθριάζειν. 11. νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ

ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιών· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιών ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυεῖη. **12.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος, ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος, ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκασον καὶ ἐχρίοντο. **13.** πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὕρίσκετο χρίμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὕρίσκετο.

**14.** Μετὰ ταῦτα ἰδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἰδονῇ ἤρσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήρσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. **15.** ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἰδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. **16.** Πορευθεὶς δὲ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἤκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν οἶανπερ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. **17.** ἐρωτώμενος δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβύζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὁπόσον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. **18.** ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἶη, ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ μισθοφόρους Χίλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. **19.** ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα



συναγαγείν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἰλόντα ἄνθρωπον. **20.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταί, προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. **21.** οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἐάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. **22.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπιθείσιν γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

**V.** Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπη δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. **2.** ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. **3.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πέντε. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκάων πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. **4.** ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιέσθαι τῷ ἀνέμφῳ, καὶ σφαγιέσθαι· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ

χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυιά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

5. Διεγέροντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ κάοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἤκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ κάοντες οὐκ προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυρούς, ἢ ἄλλο τι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. 6. ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλή-

λοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκάετο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγνύει ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἴη. 8. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμῶσι, κἂν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ που τι ὀρώη βρωτόν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυνάμενους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμῶσιν. ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφύγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.

9. Πορευομένων δὲ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνέεται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. 10. αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε περσιστὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγγην. οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὄψε ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν

ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός · καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλουντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. **12.** Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἤρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. **13.** ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινούτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχει καὶ εἰ τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. **14.** ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο · καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. **15.** Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνίγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν · καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετηκέναι · καὶ τετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἢ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νύπῃ. ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. **16.** ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἦσθετο, εἰδείτο αὐτῶν πᾶσιν τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον · οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. **17.** ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῷ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. **18.** ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους · οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δείσαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νύπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκυκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστίκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. 20. ὁ δὲ παρὼν, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. 21. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠϋλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὴς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενούντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐεναι. 22. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενούντας τούτοις παρέδωκαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠϋλίζετο. 23. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. 24. Ἐνθα δὲ Πόλυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιεῖναι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἐπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐνύτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὥχετο θηράσων, καὶ οὐχ ἦλω ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. 25. αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατ' ἄγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρέϊαι· αἱ δὲ

εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἰγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. **26.** ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν. ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κύλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες. **27.** τούτους δ' ἔδει ὁπότε τις διψῶν λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν. **28.** Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑπίασιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθναι γένωνται. **29.** ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατοωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνίσαντες, οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

**30.** Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχουμένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖεν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον. **31.** οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνεια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. **32.** ὁπότε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἵλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ροφούντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο

μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κακείνους σκηνοῦντας, ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίου παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὃ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. 34. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνθρώπων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἢ εἶη. 35. καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι καταθύσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡλίου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. 36. ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτη ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολύ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιελεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦ.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχει, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτῃ παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος

αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κώμας ἤγαγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ὤχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο. 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. 5. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὁράτε, κατέχουσιν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς τάχιστα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρώντες πολέμιοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.

10. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γινώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βου-

λόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβύλωμεν. **11.** τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον πλεόν ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στύδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὅρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθύσαντας, ἣν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. **12.** πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾶον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρώῃ τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. **13.** καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὀράσθαι, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. **14.** ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. **15.** ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτητε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῇτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὅρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.

**16.** Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινούς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἶπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν



ἀξιούνται· ὥστε ὥρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.  
**17.** Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἑτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλάκας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἵεναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε εἴανπερ ἄπαξ λάβωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται.  
**18.** ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ ἴσον. **19.** Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε. Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἵεναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται. **20.** Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστέας Χῖος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ κάειν πολλά. **21.** ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτῃ προσάξειν.

**22.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὄχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ἐχόμενοι τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαον πυρὰ πολλά διὰ νυκτός.  
**23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήεσαν. **24.** τῶν δ' αὖ πολέμιων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων, συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. **25.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου

οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποιοῦν. 27. ὥς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

VII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ᾠκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 2. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλὰ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῆει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλω. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 4. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδος ἐστὶν ἣν ὀράς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτη πειράται παριέναι, κυλίνδουσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' αὖ καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 5. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφών, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρώμεν εἰ μὴ

ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. 6. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν, ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πᾶσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίνεταί ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν. 7. Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἶη· θάττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥᾶδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλές ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. 10. ἔνθα δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἅμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. 11. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὁρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δέισας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας, οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας, οὔτε

ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας.  
**12.** ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἴτιος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τούτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη.  
**13.** Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, ρίπτουσαι τὰ παῖδιά, εἴτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα, ὡς ρίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων· **14.** ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφοῖτεροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ, καὶ πρόβατα.

**15.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων, σταθμοὺς ἑπτὰ παρασύγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. **16.** εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιτο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πῆχεων, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰὲ μαχόμενοι. ὥκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διетράφηνσαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

**18.** Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀρπασον

ποταμὸν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθηνῶν, σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κόμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν διήλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. **20.** ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἶθειν καὶ φθεῖρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας.

**21.** Καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατείδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. **22.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾤκηθησαν ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐζώγρησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. **23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἢ βοὴ ὅσῃ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. **24.** καὶ ἀναβὺς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβोधέει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θάλαττα, Θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυώντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἡλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. **25.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλή-

λους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἔξαπί-  
νης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους  
καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτιθесαν δερ-  
μάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοείων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμύλωτα  
γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς  
ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλ-  
ληνες ἀποπέμπουσι, δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον καὶ  
φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρείκους δέκα·  
ἥτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ  
τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι,  
καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα  
ἐγένετο, ὥχето τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μα-  
κρώνων, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ  
ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠριζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώ-  
νων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. 2. εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον  
οἷον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν, εἰς ὃν  
ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος  
δασὺς δένδρεσι, παχέσι μὲν οὗ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ  
προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου  
ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέρρα  
καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς δια-  
βάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο  
καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν· ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὗ,  
οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4. Ἐνθα δὲ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελτα-  
στῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι  
γινώσκου τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη,  
ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μή τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω  
αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ  
διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτή-

σαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοῖνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντι-  
τετάχεται καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι. 6. Οἱ δ'  
ἀπεκρίναντο. Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν  
ἔρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε  
ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.  
7. ἡρώτων ἐκείνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ'  
ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν  
οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ  
Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ  
εἶναι. θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα  
συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν ὡς διαβιβάσοντες, ἐν  
μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι. καὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύ-  
ναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ  
τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 9. ἐνταῦθα  
ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι  
παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἑλληνες  
ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φύλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς  
τὸ ὄρος. ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλευσασθαι  
συλλεγεῖσιν, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούνται. 10. Ἐλεξεν  
οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ παύσαντας τὴν φύλαγγα λόχους  
ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐ-  
θύς. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐδοδον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος.  
καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φύ-  
λαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. 11. ἔπειτα ἦν μὲν  
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν  
οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅτι ἂν βούλων-  
ται. εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη  
θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φύλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων καὶ  
βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων. εἰ δὲ πῃ τοῦτο

ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. 12. ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλείποντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτον προσίασιν, ἣ τε ἂν εὐδοκῇ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. 13. καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα· ἐάν τε τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολεμίων. 14. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὁρᾶτε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαι ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. 16. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· 17. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάρσθησαν καὶ πολλὴ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. 18. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν



Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουνσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. 19. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκ ἐτί ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. 20. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν ὃ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδῆδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 21. ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν που ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. 23. ἀγορὰν δὲ παρῆχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ οἶνον. 24. συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίου Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἣν εὗξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῆναι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνᾳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

ἀ εὗξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθαπερ ἔσκήνου. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἰκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακανὼν ξυήλη πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. 26. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδωσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποικῶς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπὲρ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ' εἶπε, Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλιν δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων, πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίγνετο. 28. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας, πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδούντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευσις ἐγίγνετο αὐτῶν.

## II. FALL AND RESTORATION OF ATHENS.

[Hellenica, II.]

II. 3. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστυ διήκειν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ

μόνον τους ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίας, καὶ Σκιωναίους, καὶ Τορωναίους, καὶ Αἰγινήτας, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 4. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φύλακας ἐφιστάναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὡς ἐς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον, κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ Μιτυλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. 6. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, πλὴν Σαμίων. οὗτοι δὲ, σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες, κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. 7. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξήρσαν πανδημεῖ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι, πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, Πausανίου. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. 9. Λύσανδρος δὲ, ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἴγιναν, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα, ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἵργε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

10. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἠπόρουσαν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμά-

χων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μᾶ αἰτία ἑτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμίχουν. **11.** διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες, ἐκαρτέρουν· καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν, οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σίτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἄγιν, βουλόμενοι ξύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυνηθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. **12.** ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. **13.** οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ ἐπύθοντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἷά περ καὶ πρὸς Ἄγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. **14.** Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἤκου οἴκαδε, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι, καὶ, ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. **15.** περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο ξυμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ, εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἰδέθη· (προεκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκάτερον·) ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ξυμβουλεύειν.

**16.** Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων, Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἑξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ

πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπέναι τὸν σίτον ἅπαντα, ὅ τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τῷ τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύοι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡρέθη πρεσβευτῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.

**18.** Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίων ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. **19.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις, ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἦκοιεν, εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης. μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. **20.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀλλ' ἐποιούντο εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται. **21.** Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέροντο ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἦκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. **22.** Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν.

ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολλῷ δὲ πλειόνων ξυνε-  
 παινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. 23. Μετὰ δὲ  
 ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ  
 φυγάδες κατήεσαν, καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρί-  
 δων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

III. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει — ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣ τὸ στά-  
 διον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλὸς, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύ-  
 οντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν  
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν· ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε —  
 2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πα-  
 τρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσιν· καὶ  
 ἤρέθησαν οὗτοι, Πολυάρχης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππό-  
 λοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηρα-  
 μένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος,  
 Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς,  
 Θεόγυις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος,  
 Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμενος,  
 Μνησιθείδης. 3. Τούτων δὴ πραχθέντων, ἀπέπλει Λύσαν-  
 δρος πρὸς Σάμον· Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ  
 πεζὸν στράτευμα, διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους. . . .

11. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἤρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ  
 μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηρέθη· αἰρεθέν-  
 τες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓσιναις πολιτεύ-  
 σονται, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀπο-  
 δεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν, ὡς  
 ἔδόκει αὐτοῖς. 12. Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ἤδε-  
 σαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς  
 καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον  
 θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἳ τε

ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. 13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρήσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν, πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι, καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστήν ξυνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι.

14. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίῃ ἃ πράττειεν· τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου ξυμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβούλοντο, ξυνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγους ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς ξυνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. 15. Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πρόπετης ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο· Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν. 16. Ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίῃ τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις, μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει, ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελείσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ.

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δήλοι ἦσαν ξυνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί

ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. 18. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθεξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. 19. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους, οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι. Ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. 20. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὄπλα πάντων, πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, παρείλοντο· καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ξυνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.

21. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλονται, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. 22. Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι, φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι, ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ, παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἶων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν



μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν ; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα ; 23. Οἱ δ', ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλονται, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον, ὥς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι, ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, ξυνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. 24. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

ᾧ ἄνδρες βουλευταὶ, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι, διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τετράφθαι. 25. ἡμεῖς δὲ, γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνῶμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. 26. καὶ εἴν τινα αἰσθανόμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν δίδόναι. 27. Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτονὶ, οἷς δύναται, ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἣν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα, οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· 28. νῦν δὲ, —

αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, — νῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. **29.** ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ· τοσούτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσῳ πολέμοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὖθις, καὶ πιστοὶ γίγνονται· ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς, οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. **30.** Ἴνα δὲ εἰδῇτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνωνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστήσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ξυνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. **31.** ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερον. δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προύγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς ξυνόντας, ἢν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονείσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ, ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντία πλέοιεν; **32.** Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι· σὺ δὲ, διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι, πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ

δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. Οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν, ὃς, ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος, ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοὺς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ.

**33.** ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτ' οὐ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα, καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

**34.** Ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δίηπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι, ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε· ὥς οὗτος, σωθεὶς μὲν, πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν· ἀπολόμενος δὲ, πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

**35.** Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτείνειν κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος, ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δυνατόν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαί-

νοντο· φάσκοντες γὰρ οἶόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι, ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. 36. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκευάζε, καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. 37. ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε, μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν. ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστίν, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. 38. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι ἐς τὴν βουλείαν, καὶ ἀρχὰς ὑποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, πάντες ταῦτα ἐγινγώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε καὶ αἰσθητοὺς ξυλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐγὼ ἡρξάμην τῶναντία τούτοις γινγώσκειν. 39. ἤδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι, ξυλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ὑμῖν γενήσονται. 40. ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριῆρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἡπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ὑμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδελον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι, τούτων ἀπολομένων, καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ

ἔσονται. 41. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηρῶντο; οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως, ὀλίγοι γενομένοι, μηδὲν δυναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἐδέοντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν, ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πῖσαντας. 42. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι ξυνήρεσκε μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσιν. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ξύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο. 43. Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ, πότερα εὐμενῆς ἂν δικαίως, ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὦ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξυμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες, καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. 44. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῇ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον, καὶ Ἄνυτον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας, ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ξυμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. 45. Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε

μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πύσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. 46. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγούντες, φανεροὶ ἐγέγονον ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, — εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυνσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; 47. Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν· ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον — ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν — τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένῃσαι. 48. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δούλοι, καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν· καὶ τοῖσδε γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ, οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν, πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμεν ἔναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. 49. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ ξὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων, ἢ πρότερον πῶποτε ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

50. Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ

ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα, ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. 51. πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἷου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὗ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου· τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ξυνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτιά εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ, μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ', ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. 53. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. Ἵμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καλοὶ καγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδέν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου.

54. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου, τοῦ θρασυτάτου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα-

δίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτοῖ, κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες, οἱ ἔνδεκα, οὐ δεῖ, τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράσσετε. 55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρώσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρω, καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. 56. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μάλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ· ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅτι οἰμῶξοιτο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, οἰμῶξομαι; Καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπие, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκείνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρестηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προείπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες, ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα, Φυλὴν χωρίου καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὐσῆς.



ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδὲν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. 3. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. 4. γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διὰπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας, ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ, ἐφύλαττον.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων ἐς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὄπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο, ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὄπλα, δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. 7. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, συσκευασάμενοι ἔπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον· προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλonton οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ

σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριῖκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ξυνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ξυνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἱππαρχον ἐκέλευσαν ἀναγαγόντα παραδούναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα.

9. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία εἰς τὸ Ὀιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὺς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν ξυνειλεγμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. Δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. 10. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀιδεῖου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, περὶ χιλίους ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. 11. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὕπω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ

ἄστεος εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενιδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. 12. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντανέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγέγοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσήεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στας, ἔλεξεν·

13. Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνησάμενοι ὑμῶν βούλομαι, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσι οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας, καὶ οἰκίων ἐξήλαντον, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεςσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται, οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ εὐχόμεθα. 14. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὄπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ — ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνούντες ξυνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδεύομεθα — νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων, ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαι διδόασιν. 15. καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἵεναι, δύναιντ' ἄν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐς τὸ κάταντες καὶ

δόρατα ἀφίεντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους, ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. **16.** καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν, ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα, καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. **17.** Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρῆ ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημεῖον γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. Ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐυνάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν, τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

**18.** Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς· νίκη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένη, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. **19.** καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος, ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἳ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος· τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων, Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδουσαν, προσιώντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.

**20.** Κλεόκριτος δὲ, ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὖφωνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτείνειν βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ ξυγχορευταὶ καὶ ξυμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ ξυστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. **21.** πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων καὶ μητρώων, καὶ ξυγγενείας, καὶ κηδεστίας, καὶ ἐταιρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις), αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγον δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὅκτῳ μηνσὶν, ἣ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. **22.** ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὗς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ αἶστυ. **23.** τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι ξυνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ ξυνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβούντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὥς οὐ χρὴ καθυ-

φίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδικη-  
κέναι, αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον,  
ὥς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα  
οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι  
τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν  
καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέεσθαι· καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα  
ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

**24.** Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπήλθον· οἱ δὲ  
δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούν-  
των ἀλλήλοις, σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθει-  
δον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδεῖῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς  
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'  
ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχῃ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον  
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες  
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. **25.** Οἱ δὲ, πολλοὶ τε ἤδη  
ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ  
οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέ-  
σθαι, πιστὰ δόντες οἵτινες ξυμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν,  
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξήρσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ  
δὲ γυμνήτες (ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομή-  
κοντα), προνομᾶς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ  
ὀπώραν, ἐκάθειδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. **26.** τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆι, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς  
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ  
τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν  
Αἰξωνέων τισιν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέ-  
σφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων  
ἱππέων. **27.** ἀνταπέκτεινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱπ-  
πέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον, φυλῆς Λεοντίδος·  
καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ

ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν, καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιοτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρέιχε.

28. Πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα, τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύοντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος, λογισάμενος ὅτι οἶόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείησαν, ξυνέπραξεν ἑκατὸν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. 29. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσινάδε, ξυνελέγετο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὐτὰ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωροῦντων, Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκίμησοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν. 30. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον μὲν, ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιῶντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ, δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

**31.** Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πανσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. **32.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες, καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεῖς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ θέατρον. **33.** ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἳ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξενον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ Ὀλυμπιονίκης, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. **34.** ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβόηθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. Ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας, μάλα πιεσθεῖς, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινὰ, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθεῖαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.



**35.** Ὁ δὲ Πausanías τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὥς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.

**36.** ἡδέως ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας Ἐφορος ὧν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν Ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρὴν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον.

**37.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὄχοντο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ, ἃ ἔχουσι, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὃ τι βούλονται· ἀξιούν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν.

**38.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἐκκλητοὶ, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν, ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὥς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα· εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

**39.** Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων, Πausanías μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θραυσύβουλος ἔλεξεν·  
**40.** Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὧ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γυνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε, ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος, πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες, πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχυρὰ ἕνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρεία ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. **41.** καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο, ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἷ, ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ξυμμάχους Πελοποννησίου, ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς; οἷ γε, ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κακεῖνοι, ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἠδικημένῳ τούτῳ δῆμῳ, οἷχονται ἀπιόντες; **42.** οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ, ὧν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὁσιοὶ ἐστε.

Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. **43.** καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτούς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους, ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῇν· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

## III. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA.

[Hellenica, VII.]

**V. 11.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆι ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν πλέον μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἔνθα δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. **12.** τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείονες καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. **13.** καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι· περιεγέγραπτο γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου ἡ νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τρόπαιόν τε ἵστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκρέτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου.

**14.** Ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσειεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εὐτυχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς

πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὐσης. 15. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἵππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν, καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἵππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιτο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. 16. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖη; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ὀρώντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγεννημένου τοῖς ἵππεύσιν, οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἵππεύσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μίχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μὴδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν, ἐρώντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν. 17. καὶ μαχόμενοι αἵτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δὲ ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιοῦτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι εἶχον ὥ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὐς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν.

18. Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, — ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι, διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντῶν ἐσοιτο λελυμασμένος, ἥττη-

μένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἵππομαχίᾳ, αἷτιος δὲ γεγενημένος, διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν, τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκύδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἔδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατόν εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῶν, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευταίαν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. **19.** τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πᾶν μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὡς πόνον τε μηδένα ὑποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιόν τε τὰ ἐπιτίθεται ἔχοντας ὅμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα εἶναι. **20.** καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκούντο οἱ ἵππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἡκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας, καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.

**21.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, ὥσπερ εἶκος, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων, σαφηνίζειν ἔδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἡγείτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρέιχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. **22.** καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φύλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν

πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευὴν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον, ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἑώκεσαν. 23. Ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅπῃ ἐμβάλων διακόψει, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρῳ ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάζαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος, ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· 24. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μύλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐβελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὴν τινὰς φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρώσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὥς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποίησατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἢ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. 25. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρῆσασθαι. ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναν-

τίας φάλαγγος, οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται, οὐδὲ προήλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο· φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταί, συννευικηκότες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, τοῦναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὐ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχῃ ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω μὲν τρόπαιον ὡς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυνον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ὡς ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον. 27. νενικηκέαι δὲ φάσκοντες ἐκότεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὐτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλεόν ἔχοντες ἐφάντησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ προσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

#### IV. CHARACTER OF SOCRATES.

[Memorabilia, I.]

I. Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα, τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἐπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην, ὡς ἄξιός εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφὴ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιαῦδε τις ἦν. —

Ἄδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὥς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποίῳ ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίῳ; θύων τε γὰρ φανερός ἦν, πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν, καὶ μαντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν· διετεθρύλπητο γὰρ, ὥς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐαυτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιώσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. 3. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι, μαντικὴν νομίζοντες, οἰωνοῖς τε χρώνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις. οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐ τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ σημαίνειν, κακεῖνος οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν. 4. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλείστοί φασιν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὄρνιθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι· Σωκράτης δὲ ὥσπερ ἐγίγνωσκεν οὕτως ἔλεγε· τὸ δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἔφη σημαίνειν. καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν ξυνόντων προηγόρευε τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, ὥς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πειθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις μετέμελε. 5. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μήτ' ἡλίθιον μήτ' ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοῦσιν; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων ὥς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα εἶτα ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν. ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλω πιστεύσειεν ἢ θεῷ; πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς, πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν;

6. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίει καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν, ὥς ἐνό-



μιζεν ἄριστ' ἂν πραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο, μαντευσομένους ἔπεμπεν εἰ ποιητέα. 7. καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκήσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι. τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἢ χαλκευτικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὸν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἔξεταστικὸν ἢ λογιστικὸν ἢ οἰκονομικὸν ἢ στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετέα ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. 8. τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ καλῶς ἀγρὸν φυτευσσαμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις καρπώσεται· οὔτε τῷ καλῶς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησαμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις οἰκήσει· οὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν· οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει τῆς πόλεως προστατεῖν· οὔτε τῷ καλῇ γήμαντι, ἵνα εὐφραίνηται, δῆλον εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται· οὔτε τῷ δυνατοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον εἰ διὰ τούτους στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως. 9. τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, δαιμονῶν ἔφη· δαιμονῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευσομένους ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν· οἶον, εἴ τις ἐπερωτῇ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἡνιοχεῖν ἐπὶ ζεύγος λαβεῖν κρεῖττον, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν, ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον· ἢ ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναι, τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιτα ποιεῖν ἡγήετο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ, μαθύνειν· ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ, πειραῖσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὶ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ, οἷς ἂν ὥσιν ἴληφ, σημαίνειν.

10. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός γε αἰὲν μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερώ· πρῶ

τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἦει, καὶ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερός ἦν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰετὴς ἡμέρας ἦν ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσεσθαι· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκούειν. **11.** οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πρᾶττοντος εἶδεν, οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως, ἥπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι, διελέγετο, — σκοπῶν ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔχει, καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, — ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυ.

**12.** Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει, πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἤδη τὰνθρώπινα εἰδέναι, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες, ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσήκοντα πρᾶττειν. **13.** ἐθαύμαζε δὲ εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταῦτα δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. **14.** τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι· τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ ἅπειρα τὸ πλήθος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰετὴς κινεῖσθαι πάντα, τοῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινηθῆναι· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὐτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι. **15.** Ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν

καὶ ταῦδε· ἄρ', ὥσπερ οἱ τὰνθρώπεια μαθάνοντες ἡγοῦνται τοῦθ', ὅ τι ἂν μάθωσιν, ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτ' ἂν βούλωνται ποιήσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὴν γινώσιν αἷς ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται, ποιῆσιν, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὥρας καὶ ὅτου ἂν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων; ἢ τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γινῶναι μόνον ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται; **16.** περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματευομένων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων αἰεὶ διελέγετο, σκοπῶν τί εὖσεβές, τί ἀσεβές· τί καλόν, τί αἰσχρόν· τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον· τί σωφροσύνη, τί μανία· τί ἀνδρία, τί δειλία· τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός· τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων· καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας ἡγεῖτο καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδώδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκλήσθαι.

**17.** Ὅσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὅπως ἐγίγνωσκειν, οὐδὲν θαυμάστων ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραγινῶναι τοῖς δικασταῖς· ὅσα δὲ πάντες ᾔδεσαν, θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν. **18.** βουλευσας γὰρ πατε, καὶ τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὁμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐννεύ στρατηγούς μίᾳ ψήφῳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλλον καὶ Ἑρασινίδην ἀποκτείνειν πάντας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσειν, ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων· ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείονος ἐποιήσατο εὐορκεῖν ἢ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. **19.** καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ὅν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης δ' ἡγεῖτο πάντα μὲν θεοὺς εἰδέναι, τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ

σιγῇ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρεῖναι, καὶ σημαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων.

20. Θαυμάζω οὖν, ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπείσθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ποτε πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐτ' εἰπόντα οὔτε πράξαντα· τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα περὶ θεῶν, οἳά τις ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων εἶη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὖσεβέστατος.

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[Book IV., ch. viii.]

11. Τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην γινωσκόντων οἶος ἦν, οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφίεμενοι πάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκείνον, ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ὄντα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ, τοιοῦτος ὢν οἶον ἐγὼ διήγημαι, — εὖσεβῆς μὲν οὕτως, ὥστε μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ποιεῖν· δίκαιος δὲ, ὥστε βλάπτειν μὲν μηδὲ μικρὸν μηδένα, ὠφελεῖν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς χρωμένους ἑαυτῷ· ἐγκρατὴς δὲ, ὥστε μηδέποτε προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ἥδιον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος· φρόνιμος δὲ, ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν κρίνων τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ χείρω, μηδὲ ἄλλου προσδεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκης εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ διορίσασθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους δοκιμίσαι τε καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐξελέγξαι, καὶ προτρέψασθαι ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν, — ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος εἶναι, οἶος ἂν εἶη ἄριστός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐδαιμονέστατος. εἰ δέ τῳ μὴ ἰρέσκει ταῦτα, παραβάλλων τὸ ἄλλου ἦθος πρὸς ταῦτα, οὕτω κρινέτω.

# PLATO.

## I. SOCRATES BEFORE HIS JUDGES.

1. Οὐ πολλοῦ γ' ἔνεκα χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὄνομα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν λαιδορεῖν, ὡς Σωκράτη ἀπεκτόνατε, ἄνδρα σοφόν· φήσουσι γὰρ δὴ με σοφὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ μὴ εἰμὶ, οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῖν ὀνειδίζειν. εἰ οὖν περιεμείνατε ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ἂν ὑμῖν τοῦτο ἐγένετο· ὁράτε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ὅτι πόρρω ἤδη ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου, θανάτου δὲ ἐγγύς. λέγω δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμοῦ καταψηφισαμένους θάνατον. 2. λέγω δὲ καὶ τόδε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους· ἴσως με οἴεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπορία λόγων ἐαλωκέναι τοιούτων οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔπεισα, εἰ ὥμην δεῖν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τὴν δίκην. πολλοῦ γε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἀπορία μὲν ἐάλωκα, οὐ μέντοι λόγων, ἀλλὰ τόλμης καὶ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ τοῦ ἐθέλειν λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοιαῦτα οἷ' ἂν ὑμῖν ἡδιστ' ἦν ἀκούειν, θρηνηοῦντός τέ μου καὶ ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἄλλα ποιούντος καὶ λέγοντος πολλὰ καὶ ἀνάξια ἐμοῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι· οἷα δὴ καὶ εἴθισθε ὑμεῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν. 3. ἀλλ' οὔτε τότε φήθην δεῖν ἔνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου πράξαι οὐδὲν ἀνελεύθερον, οὔτε νῦν μοι μεταμέλει οὕτως ἀπολογησαμένῳ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον αἰροῦμαι ὧδε ἀπολογησάμενος τεθνάναι ἢ ἐκείνως ζῆν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν δίκῃ οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐμὲ οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα δεῖ τοῦτο μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται πᾶν ποιῶν θάνατον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις πολλάκις δῆλον γίγνεται ὅτι τό γε

ἀποθανεῖν ἂν τις ἐκφύγοι καὶ ὄπλα ἀφείς, καὶ ἐφ' ἱκε-  
τείαν τραπόμενος τῶν διωκόντων· καὶ ἄλλαι μηχαναὶ  
πολλαί εἰσιν ἐν ἐκάστοις τοῖς κινδύνοις ὥστε διαφεύγειν  
θάνατον, εἴν τις τολμᾷ πᾶν ποιεῖν καὶ λέγειν. 4. ἀλλὰ  
μὴ οὐ τοῦτ' ἢ χαλεπὸν, ὦ ἄνδρες, θάνατον ἐκφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
πολὺ χαλεπώτερον πονηρίαν· θάττον γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ.  
καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν, ἅτε βραδὺς ὢν καὶ πρεσβύτης, ὑπὸ τοῦ  
βραδυτέρου ἐάλων, οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ κατήγοροι, ἅτε δεινοὶ καὶ  
ὀξεῖς ὄντες, ὑπὸ τοῦ θάττονος, τῆς κακίας. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ  
μὲν ἅπειμι ὑφ' ὑμῶν θανάτου δίκην ὀφλῶν, οὗτοι δ' ὑπὸ  
τῆς ἀληθείας ὀφληκότες μοχθηρίαν καὶ ἀδικίαν. καὶ ἐγώ  
τε τῷ τιμήματι ἐμμένω, καὶ οὗτοι. ταῦτα μὲν που ἴσως  
οὕτω καὶ ἔδει σχεῖν, καὶ οἶμαι αὐτὰ μετρίως ἔχειν.

5. Τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶ ὑμῖν χρησμοφθεῖναι, ὦ  
καταψηφισάμενοί μου· καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα, ἐν ᾧ  
μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησμοφθοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθα-  
νεῖσθαι. φημὶ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες οὐ ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε, τιμωρίαν  
ὑμῖν ἤξειν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον πολὺ χαλεπωτέ-  
ραν, νῆ Δί', ἢ οἶαν ἐμὲ ἀπεκτόνατε· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰργά-  
σασθε, οἰόμενοι μὲν ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τοῦ διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ  
βίου· τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι.

6. πλείους ἔσονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἐλέγχοντες, οὓς νῦν ἐγὼ κατεῖ-  
χον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἠσθάνεσθε· καὶ χαλεπώτεροι ἔσονται  
ὅσῳ νεώτεροί εἰσι, καὶ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἀγανακτήσετε. εἰ  
γὰρ οἴεσθε, ἀποκτείνοντες ἀνθρώπους, ἐπισχῆσειν τοῦ  
ὀνειδίζειν τινὰ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ζῆτε, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δια-  
νοεῖσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθ' αὕτη ἢ ἀπαλλαγή οὔτε πάνυ δυνατὴ  
οὔτε καλὴ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη καὶ καλλίστη καὶ ῥάστη, μὴ τοὺς  
ἄλλους κολούειν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζειν ὅπως ἔσται  
ὡς βέλτιστος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις  
μαντευσάμενος ἀπαλλάττομαι.

7. Τοῖς δὲ ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἡδέως ἂν διαλεχθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος τουτουῦ πράγματος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσι, καὶ οὐπω ἔρχομαι οἱ ἐλθόντα με δεῖ τεθνάναι. ἀλλὰ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, παραμείνατε τοσούτον χρόνον· οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει διαμυθολογῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἕως ἔξεστιν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὡς φίλοις οὖσιν ἐπιδείξαι ἐθέλω τὸ νυνὶ μοι ξυμβεβηκὸς τί ποτε νοεῖ. 8. ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί— ὑμᾶς γὰρ δικαστὰς καλῶν ὀρθῶς ἂν καλοῖν — θαυμάσιόν τι γέγονεν. ἡ γὰρ εἰωθυῖά μοι μαντικὴ, ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παντὶ πάνυ πυκνὴ αἰεὶ ἦν, καὶ πάννυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς ἐναντιούμενη, εἴ τι μέλλοιμι μὴ ὀρθῶς πράξειν· νυνὶ δὲ ξυμβέβηκέ μοι, ἅπερ ὁρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ, ταυτὶ ἃ γε δὴ οἰηθείη ἂν τις καὶ νομίζεται ἔσχατα κακῶν εἶναι. 9. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὔτε ἐξιόντι ἔωθεν οἴκοθεν ἡναντιώθη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, οὔτε ἡνίκα ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοῖ ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οὐτ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμοῦ μέλλοντί τι ἐρεῖν· καίτοι ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλαχοῦ δὴ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξύ· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδαμοῦ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πράξιν οὐτ' ἐν ἔργῳ οὐδενὶ οὐτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἡναντιώταί μοι. 10. τί οὖν αἴτιον εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω; ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐρῶ· κινδυνεύει γὰρ μοι τὸ ξυμβεβηκὸς τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι, καὶ οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνομεν, ὅσοι οἰόμεθα κακὸν εἶναι τὸ τεθνάναι. μέγα μοι τεκμήριον τούτου γέγονεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως οὐκ ἡναντιώθη ἂν μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τι ἔμελλον ἐγὼ ἀγαθὸν πράξειν.

11. Ἐννοήσωμεν δὲ καὶ τῇδε, ὡς πολλὴ ἐλπίς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι. δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερόν ἐστι τὸ τεθνάναι· ἡ γὰρ οἶον μὴδὲν εἶναι, μὴδ' αἰσθησιν μὴδεμίαν μὴδεὺς ἔχειν τὸν τεθνεῶτα, ἡ κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα μεταβολὴ τις τυγχάνει οὔσα, καὶ μετοίκησις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον. 12. Καὶ εἴτε μὴδεμία αἰσθησίς

ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ὕπνος ἐπειδάν τις καθεύδων μὴδ' ὄναρ μὴδὲν ὁρᾷ, θαυμάσιον κέρδος ἂν εἴη ὁ θάνατος. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι, εἴ τινα ἐκλεξάμενον δέοι ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἐν ᾗ οὕτω κατέδαρθεν ὥστε μὴδ' ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας τὰς τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιπαραθέντα ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ δέοι σκεψάμενον εἰπεῖν, πόσας ἄμεινον καὶ ἡδιον ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς βεβίωκεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ, οἶμαι ἂν μὴ ὅτι ἰδιώτην τινα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα εὐαριθμήτους ἂν εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν ταύτας πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας. 13. εἰ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὁ θάνατός ἐστι, κέρδος ἔγωγε λέγω· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν πλείων ὁ πᾶς χρόνος φαίνεται οὕτω δὴ εἶναι ἢ μία νύξ. Εἰ δ' αὖ οἷον ἀποδημῆσαι ἐστὶν ὁ θάνατος ἐνθένδε εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐστι τὰ λεγόμενα, ὥς ἄρα ἐκεῖ εἰσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τεθνεώτες, τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν τούτου εἴη ἂν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί; 14. εἰ γὰρ τις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀίδου, ἀπαλλαγείς τούτων τῶν φασκόντων δικαστῶν εἶναι, εὐρήσει τοὺς ἀληθῶς δικαστὰς, οἵπερ καὶ λέγονται ἐκεῖ δικάζειν, — Μίνως τε καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυς καὶ Αἰακὸς καὶ Τριπτόλεμος καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῶν ἡμιθέων δίκαιοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῶν βίῳ, — ἄρα φαύλη ἂν εἴη ἡ ἀποδημία; ἢ αὖ Ὀρφεὶ ξυγγενέσθαι καὶ Μουσαίῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν τις δέξαιτ' ἂν ὑμῶν; 15. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἐθέλω τεθνᾶναι, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ θαυμαστὴ ἂν εἴη ἡ διατριβὴ αὐτόθι, ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι Παλαμῆδει καὶ Αἴαντι τῷ Τελαμῶνος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τῶν παλαιῶν διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον τέθνηκεν, ἀντιπαραβάλλοντι τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ πάθη πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀηδὲς εἴη. Καὶ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον, τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἐξετάζοντα καὶ ἐρευνῶντα ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διάγειν, τίς αὐτῶν σοφός ἐστι, καὶ τίς οἶται μὲν ἔστι δ' οὐ. 16. ἐπὶ πόσῳ δ' ἂν τις, ὃ ἄνδρες



δικασταὶ, δέξαιτο ἐξετάσαι τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀγαγόντα τὴν πολλὴν στρατιάν, ἢ Ὀδυσσέα, ἢ Σίσυφον, ἢ ἄλλους μυρίους ἂν τις εἴποι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας ; οἷς ἐκεῖ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ξυνεῖναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη εὐδαιμονίας. πάντως οὐ δήπου τούτου γε ἕνεκα οἱ ἐκεῖ ἀποκτείνουσι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα εὐδαιμονέστεροί εἰσιν οἱ ἐκεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀθάνατοί εἰσιν, εἴπερ γε τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ ἔστιν.

17. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς χρὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ, εὐέλπιδας εἶναι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἔν τι τοῦτο διανοεῖσθαι ἀληθές, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ζῶντι οὔτε τελευτήσαντι, οὐδὲ ἀμελεῖται ὑπὸ θεῶν τὰ τούτου πράγματα· οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ μοι δῆλόν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὅτι ἤδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἦν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμὲ οὐδαμῶς ἀπέτρεψε τὸ σημεῖον, καὶ ἔγωγε τοῖς καταψηφισαμένοις μου καὶ τοῖς κατηγοροῖς οὐ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω. καίτοι οὐ ταύτῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ κατεψηφίζοντό μου καὶ κατηγοροῦν, ἀλλ' οἴομενοι βλάπτειν· τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἄξιον μέμφεσθαι. 18. Τοσόνδε μέντοι αὐτῶν δέομαι· τοὺς υἱεῖς μου, ἐπειδὰν ἡβήσωσι, τιμωρήσασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ταῦτα ταῦτα λυποῦντες ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐλύπουν, ἐὰν ὑμῖν δοκῶσιν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλου του πρότερον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ ἀρετῆς, καὶ ἐὰν δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες, ὀνειδίετε αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ὧν δεῖ, καὶ οἴονται τι εἶναι ὄντες οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι. καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτα ποιῇτε, δίκαια πεπονθὼς ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ υἱεῖς.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ὥρα ἀπιέναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποθανουμένῳ, ὑμῖν δὲ βιωσομένοις· ὁπότεροι δὲ ἡμῶν ἔρχονται ἐπὶ ἅμεινον πρᾶγμα, ἀδηλον παντὶ πλὴν ἢ τῷ θεῷ.

## II. THE DEATH OF SOCRATES.

[Phaedo, I. - V.; LXIII. - LXVI.]

1. Ἐχεκράτης. Αὐτὸς, ὦ Φαίδων, παρεγένου Σωκράτει ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ τὸ φάρμακον ἔπιεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ἢ ἄλλου του ἤκουσας ;

Φαίδων. Αὐτὸς, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες.

Ε. Τί οὖν δὴ ἐστὶν ἅττα εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου ; καὶ πῶς ἐτελεύτα ; ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν ἐγὼ ἀκούσαιμι. καὶ γὰρ οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων οὐδεὶς πάνυ τι ἐπιχωριάζει τὰ νῦν Ἀθήναζε, οὔτε τις ξένος ἀφίκεται χρόνου συχνοῦ ἐκείθεν, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἴος τ' ἦν περὶ τούτων, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι φάρμακον πιὼν ἀποθάνοι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν.

2. Φ. Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα ἐπύθεσθε ὃν τρόπον ἐγένετο ;

Ε. Ναί, ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡγγειλέ τις, καὶ ἐθαυμάζομεν γε ὅτι, πάλαι γενομένης αὐτῆς, πολλῶ ὕστερον φαίνεται ἀποθανῶν. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο, ὦ Φαίδων ;

Φ. Τύχῃ τις αὐτῷ, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, συνέβη. ἔτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἢ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου, ὃ εἰς Δῆλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσιν.

Ε. Τοῦτο δὲ δὴ τί ἐστὶν ;

3. Φ. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πλοῖον, ὥς φασιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ᾧ Θησεύς ποτε εἰς Κρήτην τοὺς δις ἐπτὰ ἐκείνους ὥχето ἄγων, καὶ ἔσωσέ τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσώθη. τῷ οὖν Ἀπόλλωνι εὖξαντο, ὥς λέγεται, τότε, εἰ σωθείεν, ἐκάστου ἔτους θεωρίαν ἀπάξειν εἰς Δῆλον. ἦν δὲ αἰὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐξ ἐκείνου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ πέμπουσιν. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἄρξωνται τῆς θεωρίας, νόμος ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καθαρεύειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἀποκτινύναι, πρὶν

ἂν εἰς Δῆλον ἀφίκηται τὸ πλοῖον καὶ πάλιν δεῦρο· τοῦτο δ' ἐνίοτε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ γίγνεται, ὅταν τύχωσιν ἄνεμοι ἀπολαβόντες αὐτούς. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐστὶ τῆς θεωρίας, ἐπειδὴν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος στέψῃ τὴν πρύμναν τοῦ πλοίου· τοῦτο δ' ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ λέγω, τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης γεγονός. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πολὺς χρόνος ἐγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, ὁ μεταξὺ τῆς δίκης τε καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.

4. E. Τί δὲ δὴ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον, ὦ Φαίδων; τίνα ἦν τὰ λεχθέντα καὶπραχθέντα, καὶ τίνες οἱ παραγενόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῷ ἀνδρί; ἢ οὐκ εἶων οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἔρημος ἐτελεύτα φίλων;

Φ. Οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ παρήσαντινες, καὶ πολλοί γε.

E. Ταῦτα δὴ πάντα προθυμήθητι ὡς σαφέστατα ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, εἰ μή τίς σοι ἀσχολία τυγχάνει οὔσα.

Φ. Ἀλλὰ σχολάζω γε, καὶ πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ μεμνήσθαι Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλου ἀκούοντα ἔμοιγε αἰεὶ πάντων ἡδιστον.

E. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὦ Φαίδων, καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους γε τοιούτους ἐτέρους ἔχεις· ἀλλὰ πειρῶ ὡς ἂν δύνῃ ἀκριβέστατα διελθεῖν πάντα.

5. Φ. Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε θαυμάσια ἔπαθον παραγενόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς θανάτῳ παρόντα με ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου ἔλεος εἰσῆι· εὐδαίμων γάρ μοι ἀνὴρ ἐφαίνετο, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων, ὡς ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως ἐτελεύτα, ὥστε μοι ἐκείνον παρίστασθαι μῆδ' εἰς Ἄιδου ἰόντα ἄνευ θείας μοίρας ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ κατέκισε ἀφικόμενον εὖ πράξειν, εἴπερ τις πώποτε καὶ ἄλλος. διὰ δὴ ταῦτα οὐδὲν πάνυ μοι ἐλεεινὸν εἰσῆι, ὡς εἰκὸς ἂν δόξειεν εἶναι παρόντι πένθει· οὔτε αὖ ἡδονὴ ὡς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἡμῶν ὄντων, ὥσπερ εἰώθειμεν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγοι τοιοῦτοί τινες ἦσαν· ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς ἄτοπόν τί μοι πάθος παρήν, καί

τις ἀήθης κρᾶσις ἀπό τε τῆς ἡδονῆς συγκεκραμένη ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι αὐτίκα ἐκείνος ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν. καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες σχεδόν τι οὕτω διεκείμεθα, ὅτε μὲν γελῶντες, ἐνίοτε δὲ δακρύοντες, εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ διαφερόντως, Ἀπολλόδωρος· οἶσθα γάρ που τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ.

6. Ε. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

Φ. Ἐκεῖνός τε τοίνυν παντάπασιν οὕτως εἶχε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐτεταράγμην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.

Ε. Ἐτυχον δέ, ὦ Φαίδων, τίνες παραγενόμενοι;

Φ. Οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρῆν, καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ [Κρίτων], καὶ ἔτι Ἑρμογένης καὶ Ἐπιγένης καὶ Αἰσχίνης καὶ Ἀντισθένης· ἦν δὲ καὶ Κτήσιππος ὁ Παιανιεύς, καὶ Μενέξενος, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· Πλάτων δέ, οἶμαι, ἦσθενει.

Ε. Ξένοι δέ τινες παρῆσαν;

Φ. Ναί, Σιμμίας τέ γε ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ Κέβης καὶ Φαιδωνίδης, καὶ Μεγαρόθεν Εὐκλείδης τε καὶ Τερψίων.

Ε. Τί δέ; Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Κλεόμβροτος παρεγένοντο;

Φ. Οὐ δῆτα· ἐν Αἰγίνῃ γὰρ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι.

Ε. Ἄλλος δέ τις παρῆν;

Φ. Σχεδόν τι οἶμαι τούτους παραγενέσθαι.

Ε. Τί οὖν δῆ; τίνες, φῆς, ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι;

7. Φ. Ἐγὼ σοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάντα πειράσομαι διηγήσασθαι. αἰεὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν ἡμέρας εἰώθειμεν φοιτᾶν, καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, συλλεγόμενοι ἔωθεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ δίκη ἐγένετο· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου. περιεμένομεν οὖν ἐκάστοτε, ἕως ἀνοιχθείη τὸ δεσμοτήριον, διατρίβοντες μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἀνεώγετο γὰρ οὐ πρόφ'· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνοιχθείη,

εἰσήμεν παρὰ τὸν Σωκράτη, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ διημερεύομεν μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πρωϊαίτερον ξυνελέγημεν. τῇ γὰρ προτεραίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξήλθομεν ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου ἐσπέρας, ἐπυθόμεθα ὅτι τὸ πλοῖον ἐκ Δήλου ἀφικνέμενον εἴη. παρηγγείλαμεν οὖν ἀλλήλοις ἥκειν ὡς πρωϊαίτατα εἰς τὸ εἰωθός. 8. καὶ ἤκομεν, καὶ ἡμῖν ἐξελθὼν ὁ θυρωρὸς, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ὑπακούειν, εἶπε περιμένειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον παρίεναι, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς κελεύσῃ. λύνουσι γὰρ, ἔφη, οἱ ἔνδεκα Σωκράτη, καὶ παραγγέλλουσιν ὅπως ἂν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσῃ. οὐ πολὺν δ' οὖν χρόνον ἐπισχῶν, ἦκε καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἡμᾶς εἰσιέναι. εἰσιόντες οὖν καταλαμβάνομεν τὸν μὲν Σωκράτη ἄρτι λελυμένον, τὴν δὲ Ξανθίππην — γινώσκεις γὰρ — ἔχουσάν τε τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ καὶ παρακαθημένην. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν ἡμᾶς ἡ Ξανθίππη, ἀνευφήμησέ τε καὶ τοιαυτ' ἅττα εἶπεν, οἶα δὴ εἰώθουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὅτι ὦ Σώκρατες, ὕστατον δὴ σε προσερούσι νῦν οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι, καὶ σὺ τούτους. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, βλέψας εἰς τὸν Κρίτωνα, ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, ἀπαγέτω τις αὐτὴν οἴκαδε. καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν ἀπὴγόν τινες τῶν τοῦ Κρίτωνος βοῶσάν τε καὶ κοπτομένην. 9. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης, ἀνακαθιζόμενος εἰς τὴν κλίνην, συνέκαμψέ τε τὸ σκέλος καὶ ἐξέτριψε τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ τρίβων ἅμα, ὦς ἄτοπον, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔοικέ τι εἶναι τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἰδύ. ὡς θαυμασίως πέφυκε πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἐναντίον εἶναι, τὸ λυπηρὸν, τῷ ἅμα μὲν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν παραγίγνεσθαι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐὰν δέ τις διώκῃ τὸ ἕτερον καὶ λαμβάνῃ, σχεδὸν τι ἀναγκάζεσθαι λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον, ὅσπερ ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς συνημμένῳ δὴ ὄντε. καί μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, εἰ ἐνενόησεν αὐτὰ Αἴσωπος, μῦθον ἂν συνθεῖναι, ὡς ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος αὐτὰ διαλλάξαι πολεμοῦντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἡδύνατο, ξυνήψεν εἰς ταῦτον αὐτοῖς τὰς κορυφὰς, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὦ

ἂν τὸ ἕτερον παραγένηται, ἑπακολουθεῖ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον. ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔοικεν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἦν ἐν τῷ σκέλει πρότερον τὸ ἀλγεινὸν, ἦκειν δὴ φαίνεται ἑπακολουθοῦν τὸ ἡδύ.

10. Ὁ οὖν Κέβης ὑπολαβὼν, Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, εὖ γ' ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με. περὶ γάρ τοι τῶν ποιημάτων ὧν πεποίηκας, ἐντείνας τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν Ἀπόλλω προοίμιον, καὶ ἄλλοι τινές με ἤδη ἤρουντο· ἀτὰρ καὶ Εὐνὸς πρῶην, ὃ τι ποτὲ διανοηθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ δεῦρο ἦλθες, ἐποίησας αὐτὰ, πρότερον οὐδὲν πώποτε ποιήσας. εἰ οὖν τί σοι μέλει τοῦ ἔχειν ἐμὲ Εὐνῷ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅταν με αὖθις ἐρωτᾷ (εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐρήσεται), εἰπὲ τί χρή με λέγειν. 11. Λέγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτῷ, ὦ Κέβης, τάληθῇ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκείνῳ βουλόμενος οὐδὲ τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀντίτεχνος εἶναι ἐποίησα ταῦτα· ἦδειν γὰρ ὡς οὐ ράδιον εἶη· ἀλλ' ἐνυπνίων τινῶν ἀποπειρώμενος τί λέγει, καὶ ἀφοσιούμενος εἰ ἄρα πολλάκις ταύτην τὴν μουσικὴν μοι ἐπιτάττοι ποιεῖν. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἅττα τοιῦδε· πολλάκις μοι φοιτῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι βίῳ, ἄλλοτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ὄψει φαινόμενον, τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ λέγον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, μουσικὴν ποιεῖ καὶ ἐργάζου.

12. καὶ ἐγὼ ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ, ὅπερ ἔπραττον τοῦτο ὑπελάμβανον αὐτό μοι παρακελεύεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπικελεύειν, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς θεόυσιν διακελευόμενοι· καὶ ἐμοὶ οὕτω τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὅπερ ἔπραττον τοῦτο ἐπικελεύειν, μουσικὴν ποιεῖν, ὡς φιλοσοφίας μὲν οὐσης μεγίστης μουσικῆς, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοῦτο πράττοντος· νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ ἦ τε δίκη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐορτὴ διεκώλυέ με ἀποθνήσκειν, ἔδοξε χρῆναι, εἰ ἄρα πολλάκις μοι προστάττοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ταύτην τὴν δημῳδὴν μουσικὴν ποιεῖν, μὴ ἀπειθῆσαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν. ἀσφαλέστερον γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀπιέναι πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι

ποιήσαντα ποιήματα, καὶ πειθόμενον τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ. 13. οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα, οὗ ἦν ἡ παρούσα θυσία· μετὰ δὲ τὸν θεόν, ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δέοι, εἵπερ μέλλοι ποιητῆς εἶναι, ποιεῖν μύθους ἄλλ' οὐ λόγους, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἦ μυθολογικὸς, διὰ ταῦτα δὲ οὓς προχείρους εἶχον καὶ ἡπιστάμην μύθους τοὺς Αἰσώπου, τούτους ἐποίησα—οἷς πρῶτοις ἐνέτυχον. ταῦτα οὖν, ὦ Κέβης, Εὐνήνῳ φράζε, καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, καὶ ἂν σωφρονῇ, ἐμὲ διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα. ἄπειμι δὲ, ὡς ἔοικε, τήμερον· κελεύουσι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι.

14. Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας, Οἶον παρακελεύει, ἔφη, τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες, Εὐνήνῳ; πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη ἐντετύχηκα τῷ ἀνδρὶ· σχεδὸν οὖν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ ἦσθην, οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν σοι ἐκὼν εἶναι πείσεται. Τί δαί; ἦ δ' ὅς· οὐ φιλόσοφος Εὐνήνός; Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σιμμίας. Ἐθελήσει τοίνυν, ἔφη, καὶ Εὐνήνός καὶ πᾶς ὅτῳ ἀξίως τούτου τοῦ πράγματος μέτεστιν. οὐ μέντοι γ' ἴσως βιάσεται αὐτόν· οὐ γάρ φασι θεμιτὸν εἶναι. 15. Καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα καθῆκε τὰ σκέλη [ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης] ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ καθεζόμενος οὕτως ἤδη τὰ λοιπὰ διελέγετο. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Κέβης· Πῶς τοῦτο λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν βιάζεσθαι, ἐθέλειν δ' ἂν τῷ ἀποθνήσκοντι τὸν φιλόσοφον ἔπεσθαι; Τί δὲ, ὦ Κέβης; οὐκ ἀκηκόατε σύ τε καὶ Σιμμίας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, Φιλολάφ συγγεγονότες; Οὐδέν γε σαφῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀκοῆς περὶ αὐτῶν λέγω· ἃ μὲν οὖν τυγχάνω ἀκηκόως, φθόνος οὐδεὶς λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ ἴσως καὶ μάλιστα πρέπει, μέλλοντα ἐκεῖσε ἀποδημεῖν, διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ μυθολογεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ, ποῖαν τινὰ αὐτὴν οἰόμεθα εἶναι· τί γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ ποιοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ μέχρι ἡλίου δυσμῶν χρόνῳ;

16. Ἀλλὰ τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα χρὴ ὧν διεληλύθαμεν, ὦ Σιμμία, πᾶν ποιεῖν, ὥστε ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως ἐν τῷ βίῳ μετασχεῖν· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλον, καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς μεγάλη. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμμία τε καὶ Κέβης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, εἰσαυθις ἐν τινι χρόνῳ ἕκαστοι πορεύσεσθε· ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικὸς, ἡ εἰμαρμένη, καὶ σχεδόν τί μοι ὥρα τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ λουτρόν· δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν.

17. Ταῦτα δὴ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κρίτων, Εἴεν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· τί δὲ τούτοις ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐπιστέλλεις, ἢ περὶ τῶν παίδων ἢ περὶ ἄλλου του, ὃ τι ἂν σοι ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ἐν χάριτι μάλιστα ποιοῖμεν; Ἄπερ αἰὲν λέγω, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, οὐδὲν καινότερον· ὅτι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι ὑμεῖς, καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν χάριτι ποιήσετε ἅττ' ἂν ποιήτε, καὶ μὴ νῦν ὁμολογήσητε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμελήτε, καὶ μὴ θέλητε, ὥσπερ κατ' ἔχνη, κατὰ τὰ νῦν τε εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ ζῆν, οὐδ' εἰ πολλὰ ὁμολογήσητε ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ σφόδρα, οὐδὲν πλεόν ποιήσετε. 18. Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν προθυμηθησόμεθα, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖν· θάπτωμεν δέ σε τίνα τρόπον; Ὅπως ἂν, ἔφη, βούλησθε, εἴανπερ γε λάβητέ με, καὶ μὴ ἐκφύγω ὑμᾶς. γελάσας δὲ ἅμα ἡσυχῇ, καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποβλέψας, εἶπεν· Οὐ πείθω, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, Κρίτωνα, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰμι οὗτος ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ νυνὶ διαλεγόμενος καὶ διατάττων ἕκαστον τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλ' οἶεταί με ἐκεῖνον εἶναι, ὃν ὄψεται ὀλίγον ὕστερον νεκρὸν, καὶ ἐρωτᾷ δὴ πῶς με θάπτῃ. ὅτι δὲ ἐγὼ πάλαι πολὺν λόγον πεποίημαι, ὥς, ἐπειδὰν πίω τὸ φάρμακον, οὐκέτι ὑμῖν παραμηνῶ, ἀλλ' οἰχήσομαι ἀπὼν εἰς μακάρων δὴ τινος εὐδαιμονίας, ταῦτά μοι δοκῶ αὐτῷ ἄλλως λέγειν, παραμυθοῦ-



μενος ἅμα μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἅμα δ' ἐμαυτόν. 19. ἐγγυήσασθε οὖν με πρὸς Κρίτωνα, ἔφη, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐγγύην ἢ ἣν οὗτος πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἡγγυάτο. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἢ μὴν παραμενεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ μὴν μὴ παραμενεῖν ἐγγυήσασθε, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνω, ἀλλὰ οἰχήσεσθαι ἀπιόντα, ἵνα Κρίτων ῥᾶον φέρῃ, καὶ μὴ ὀρώων μου τὸ σῶμα ἢ καιόμενον ἢ κατορυπτόμενον ἀγανακτῇ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοντος, μηδὲ λέγῃ ἐν τῇ ταφῇ, ὡς ἢ προτίθεται Σωκράτῃ ἢ ἐκφέρει ἢ κατορύττει. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἢ δ' ὅς, ὦ ἄριστε Κρίτων, τὸ μὴ καλῶς λέγειν οὐ μόνον εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο πλημμελές, ἀλλὰ καὶ κακόν τι ἐμποιεῖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν τε χρὴ, καὶ φάναι τοῦμὸν σῶμα θάπτειν, καὶ θάπτειν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν σοι φίλον ᾖ, καὶ μάλιστα ἡγῇ νόμιμον εἶναι.

20. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀνίστατο εἰς οἴκημά τι ὡς λουσόμενος, καὶ ὁ Κρίτων εἶπετο αὐτῷ, ἡμᾶς δ' ἐκέλευε περιμένειν. περιεμένομεν οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαλεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, καὶ ἀνασκοποῦντες, τοτὲ δ' αὖ περὶ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς διεξιόντες, ὅση ἡμῖν γεγονυῖα εἴη, ἀτεχνῶς ἡγούμενοι ὥσπερ πατὴρ στερηθέντες διάξῃν ὀρφανοὶ τὸν ἔπειτα βίον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐλούσατο, καὶ ἠνέχθη παρ' αὐτὸν τὰ παιδιά — δύο γὰρ αὐτῷ υἱεῖς σμικροὶ ᾗσαν, εἰς δὲ μέγας — καὶ αἱ οἰκεῖαι γυναῖκες ἀφίκοντο, ἐκείναις ἐναντίον τοῦ Κρίτωνος διαλεχθεῖς τε καὶ ἐπιστείλας ἅττα ἐβούλετο, τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἀπιέναι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἦκε παρ' ἡμᾶς.

21. Καὶ ἦν ἤδη ἐγγὺς ἡλίου δυσμῶν· χρόνον γὰρ πολλὸν διέτριψεν ἔνδον. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκαθέζετο λελουμένος, καὶ οὐ πόλλ' ἅττα μετὰ ταῦτα διελέχθη· καὶ ἦκεν ὁ τῶν ἑνδεκα ὑπηρέτης, καὶ στὰς παρ' αὐτὸν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ καταγνώσομαι σοῦ ὅπερ ἄλλων καταγιγνώσκω, ὅτι μοι χαλεπαίνουνσι καὶ καταρῶνται, ἐπειδὴν αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλω

πίνειν τὸ φάρμακον, ἀναγκαζόντων τῶν ἀρχόντων. σὲ δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἄλλως ἔγνωκα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενναιότατον καὶ πραότατον καὶ ἄριστον ἄνδρα ὄντα τῶν πώποτε δεῦρο ὑφικομένων· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνεις, γιγνώσκεις γὰρ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις. νῦν οὖν, οἶσθα γὰρ ἃ ἤλθον ἀγγέλλων, χαῖρέ τε καὶ πειρῶ ὡς ῥᾶστα φέρειν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα. καὶ ἅμα δακρύσας μεταστρεφόμενος ἀπῆει. **22.** Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀναβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν, Καὶ σὺ, ἔφη, χαῖρε, καὶ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα ποιήσομεν. καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Ὡς ἀστεῖος, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ παρὰ πάντα μοι τὸν χρόνον προσῆει, καὶ διελέγετο ἐνίοτε, καὶ ἦν ἀνδρῶν λῶστος, καὶ νῦν ὡς γενναίως με ἀποδακρύει. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Κρίτων, πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐνεγκάτω τις τὸ φάρμακον, εἰ τέτριπται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τριψάτω ὁ ἄνθρωπος. **23.** καὶ ὁ Κρίτων, Ἀλλ' οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔτι ἥλιον εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι, καὶ οὐπω δεδυκέναι. καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ οἶδα καὶ ἄλλους πάνυ ὀψὲ πίνοντας, ἐπειδὰν παραγγεληῖ αὐτοῖς, δειπνήσαντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας εὖ μάλα. — ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἐπείγου· ἔτι γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἰκότως γ', ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, ἐκείνοί τε ταῦτα ποιοῦσιν, οὓς σὺ λέγεις, οἶονται γὰρ κερδανεῖν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, καὶ ἔγωγε ταῦτα εἰκότως οὐ ποιήσω· οὐδὲν γὰρ οἶμαι κερδαίνειν ὀλίγον ὕστερον πιὼν, ἄλλο γε ἢ γέλωτα ὀφλήσειν παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, γλιχόμενος τοῦ ζῆν, καὶ φειδόμενος οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἐνόντος. ἀλλ' ἴθι, ἔφη, πιθοῦ καὶ μὴ ἄλλως ποίει.

**24.** Καὶ ὁ Κρίτων ἀκούσας ἔνευσε τῷ παιδὶ πλησίον ἐστῶτι, καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐξελθὼν, καὶ συχνὸν χρόνον διατρίψας, ἦκεν ἄγων τὸν μέλλοντα διδόναι τὸ φάρμακον, ἐν κύλικι φέροντα τετριμμένον· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Σωκράτης τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Εἶεν, ἔφη, ὦ βέλτιστε, σὺ γὰρ τούτων ἐπιστήμων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; Οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἔφη, ἢ πιόντα περιμέναι, ἕως ἂν σου

βύρος ἐν τοῖς σκέλεσι γένηται, ἔπειτα κατακείσθαι· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ποιήσει. καὶ ἅμα ὥρεξε τὴν κύλικα τῷ Σωκράτει. 25. καὶ ὃς λαβὼν, καὶ μάλα ἱλεως, ὦ Ἐχέκρατες, οὐδὲν τρέσας, οὐδὲ διαφθείρας οὔτε τοῦ χρώματος οὔτε τοῦ προσώπου, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Τί λέγεις, ἔφη, περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πόματος πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπείσαι τι; ἔξεστιν, ἦ οὐ; Τοσοῦτον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τρίβομεν, ὅσον οἰόμεθα μέτριον εἶναι πιεῖν. Μανθάνω, ἦ δ' ὅς· ἀλλ' εὐχέσθαι γέ που τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξεστί τε καὶ χρῆ, τὴν μετοίκησιν τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε εὐτυχῇ γενέσθαι· ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχομαί τε καὶ γένοιτο ταύτη· καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα, ἐπισχόμενος καὶ μάλα εὐχερῶς καὶ εὐκόλως ἐξέπιε.

26. Καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ πολλοὶ τέως μὲν ἐπιεικῶς οἰοί τε ἦσαν κατέχειν τὸ μὴ δακρύειν· ὥς δὲ εἶδομεν πίνοντά τε καὶ πεπωκότα, οὐκέτι, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ γε βία καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀστακτὶ ἐχώρει τὰ δάκρυα, ὥστε ἐγκαλυψάμενος ἀπέκλαιον ἐμαυτόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνόν γε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τύχην, οἷου ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου ἐστερημένος εἶην. ὁ δὲ Κρίτων ἔτι πρότερος ἐμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν κατέχειν τὰ δάκρυα, ἐξανέστη. Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐπαύετο δακρύνων, καὶ δὲ καὶ τότε ἀναβρυχσάμενος κλαίων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν οὐδένα ὄντινα οὐ κατέκλασε τῶν παρόντων, πλὴν γε αὐτοῦ Σωκράτους. ἐκείνος δὲ, Οἶα, ἔφη, ποιεῖτε, ὦ θαυμάσιοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐχ ἥκιστα τούτου ἕνεκα τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπέπεμψα, ἵνα μὴ τοιαῦτα πλημμελοῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀκήκοα, ὅτι ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρῆ τελευτᾶν. ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν τε ἄγετε καὶ καρτερεῖτε. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχύνθημέν τε καὶ ἐπέσχομεν τοῦ δακρύειν. 27. Ὁ δὲ περιελθὼν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ βαρύνεσθαι ἔφη τὰ σκέλη, κατεκλίθη ὑπτίος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέλευεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

καὶ ἅμα ἐφαπτόμενος αὐτοῦ οὗτος ὁ δους τὸ φάρμακον, διαλιπὼν χρόνον ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη, κᾶπειτα σφόδρα πιέσας αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, ἤρετο εἰ αἰσθάνοιτο· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὖθις τὰς κνήμας· καὶ ἐπανιὼν οὕτως ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ψύχοιτό τε καὶ πηγνύοιτο. καὶ αὐτὸς ἤπτετο, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ γένηται αὐτῷ, τότε οἰχήσεται. ἤδη οὖν σχεδόν τι αὐτοῦ ἦν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἥτρον ψυχόμενα, καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενος, ἐνεκεκάλυπτο γὰρ, εἶπεν, — ὃ δὴ τελευταῖον ἐφθέγγετο, — ὦ Κρίτων, ἔφη, τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὀφείλομεν ἀλεκτρυόνα· ἀλλ' ἀπόδοτε καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσητε. 28. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἔσται, ὁ Κρίτων· ἀλλ' ὅρα, εἴ τι ἄλλο λέγεις. ταῦτα ἐρομένου αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλιπὼν, ἐκινήθη τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξεκάλυψεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὃς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Κρίτων ξυνέλαβε τὸ στόμα τε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

Ἦδε ἡ τελευτὴ, ᾧ Ἐχέκρατες, τοῦ ἐταίρου ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρὸς, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἂν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου, καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου.

# HERODOTUS.

## I. INVASION OF GREECE BY DARIUS.

1. Βασιλείῃ δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Σάρδις αἰλούσας ἐμπεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησόμενον, εἶρεσθαι οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἷστον, ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπέιναι, καί μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βύλλοντα εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι· εἰπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξαι ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ, ἐς τρίς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν, Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

2. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι ἐν νόφ ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν κήρυκας, ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλείῃ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλεις τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. 3. Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευάζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προῖσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἳ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται. ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέκεατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινίτας δεδω-

κέναι, ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται. καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτούντες τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατηγορεῖον τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὰ πεποιθήκειεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας.

4. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐποίησε, ὥστε ἀναμιμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνήσθαι μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδέων προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλῦει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἐρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δᾶτίν τε ἑόντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἐωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε, ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἐρέτριαν, ἀγαγεῖν ἐωυτῷ εἰς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδράποδα.

5. Χειρωσάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἔπλουν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέργοντές τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας ἐποίησαν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθῶν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι, καὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἐρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι· κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφεας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στῆσαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτεος. 6. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου, καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου, περὶ πολ-

λοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἄμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἐσωτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξίμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ δικαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

7. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετώντα· τῷ δὲ (ὡς αὐτός τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε) περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδew, τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἐσωτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἔοντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλαχῇ γενομένου ἤδη σφι χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἰσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάτων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπετέησι καὶ λαμπύδι ἱλάσκονται. 8. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραῖος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπάρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δουλοσύνη περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἑρέτριά τε ἡνδραπόδισται, καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθενεστέρα. Ὁ μὲν δὲ σφι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφι ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λύειν τὸν νόμον·

ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτῃ, εἰνάτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τὴν πανσέληνον ἔμενον.

9. Τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς ὄψιν ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου, κατελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασώσάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, τελευτήσῃεν ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνεβύλετο ταῦτα· 10. τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὡς ἐώθεε, οἶα δέ οἱ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἑόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσεείοντο. τούτων ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπεσόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάζας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δέ τί μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.

11. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοιισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιεὲς πανδημεῖ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιεὲς, καὶ πόνοους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ἤδη ἀναραιρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλαταιεὲς ἐδίδονσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τάδε· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέο-



μεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιήδε τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίη ψυχρή· φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα πυθέσθαι ἡμέων. συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιοχώροισί τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμωρέειν ἐοῦσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ κατὰ εὐνοίαν οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὥς βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεῶτας Βοιωτοῖσι.

**12.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβούλευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιείντων τοῖσι δωδέκα θεοῖσι, ἰκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτούς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοήθουν. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες, ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων, οὕρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοισίδε, εἰάν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελείν. **13.** Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιούσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὖρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιᾶς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλαταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἦκον δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

**14.** Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ γινώμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβάλλειν, ὀλίγους γὰρ εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδεω κελευόντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐνῖκα ἡ χεῖρων τῶν γνωμέων, ἐνθαῦτα (ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδοφόρος ὁ τῷ κυάμφῳ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν, τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύντο τοῖσι στρα-

τηγοῖσι, ἦν τε τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος) πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε τάδε· **15.** Ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἡ ἐλευθέρας ποιήσαντα, μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκύνῃσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῖη· ἦν δὲ περιγένηται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷη τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. κὼς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἶά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κὼς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνήκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κῦρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐόντων δέκα, δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελεύόντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβαλεῖν. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβύλωμεν, ἔλπομαί τινα στάσις μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασείσειν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρονήματα ὥστε μηδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σαθρὸν Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροισι ἐγγενέσθαι, θεῶν τὰ ἴσα νεμόντων, οἰοί τέ εἶμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἥρτηται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμη τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπευδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. **16.** Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον. προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανήτῃ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδοσαν· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐ τί κω συμβολὴν ἐποίεετο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανήτῃ ἐγένετο.

**17.** Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκείνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος

ἡγήετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἡριθμέοντο αἱ φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφί τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριαι τὰς ἐν τῇσι πενταετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι. τότε δὲ, τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ τάξιαι ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει. 18. Ὡς δὲ σφί διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὑπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπίφερον καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε τοξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατεΐκαζον· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι, ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθημένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μίδων φόβος ἀκούσαι. 19. Μαχομένων δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσῃ τε αὐτοὶ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ῥήξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, τὸ δὲ

κέρας ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιέες. νικῶν-  
τες δέ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔων,  
τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν, συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα  
ἀμφοτέρα, ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ  
τοῖσι Πέρσησι εἶποντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἷτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.  
**20.** Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλ-  
λίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε  
τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέ-  
γειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστων  
νεὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι  
Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοί. **21.** Ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ  
τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι δὲ  
λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανακρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον, τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα,  
περιέπλων Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτία δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ  
Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τού-  
τους γὰρ, συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα  
εἶναι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. **22.** οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων  
Σούνιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον  
ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἔφθησάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβά-  
ρους ἥκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου  
τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοσάργει.  
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (του-  
το γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων), ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνα-  
κωχέυσαντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

**23.** Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν  
βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἄνδρας,  
Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐνενηκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμ-  
φοτέρων τοσοῦτοι· συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι

τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω, ἐν τῇ συστάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔοντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ πάθεος τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλήτην ἀντιστῆναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γένειον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτείνειν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

24. Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχύλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω, ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὅμως θήσασθαι τοὺς Μήδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

## II. MARCH OF XERXES.—PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκητο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοιμάζειν στρατιὴν, πολλῶ πλείω ἱπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρεῖχον, καὶ νίας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελιομένων, ἡ

Ἀσίῃ ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 2. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς δέει μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξεα, ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρείου, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιλητὴ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα. 3. Καὶ Ξέρξης . . ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεια παραρτέετο στρατιὴν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένῳ ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλη πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα, ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ ἐς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὰς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σῖτά τε καὶ νέας. 4. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὥς προσπταισάντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλωόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κου μάλιστα ἐς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὤρμεον τριήρεις, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενοι ὠρυsson ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοι δ' ἐφοίτων. ὠρυsson δὲ καὶ

οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ οὖρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστὸν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον τὸ οὖρος, χερσονησοειδὲς τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δωδέκα σταδίων, πεδίου δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κολωνοὶ οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. 5. Ὠρυσσον δὲ ᾧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χώρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάνην πόλιν σχοινοτενὲς ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο βαθέα ἢ διῶρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὠρυσσον, ἕτεροι δὲ παρεδίδουσιν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χοῦν ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἑτέροις, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ λειμών ἐστι, ἵνα σφι ἀγορή τε ἐγένετο καὶ πρητήριον· σίτος δὲ σφι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσῆς ἀλληλεσμένος. 6. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὐρίσκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ξέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρὲν γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διῶρυχα τῇ θαλίσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρεας πλώειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοις, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

7. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ξέρξη ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἶρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἥπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξη πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τρηχέα ἐς θύλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον. ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμεόμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοῖνικες, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμῶν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. 9. ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοισι ἀπέπεμψε στίξοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὴ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλα. Ὡς πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἠδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἦν τε σύ γε βούλη ἦν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς ἐόντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ. Τὴν τε δὴ θύλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοισι ζημιούν, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. 10. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίεον, τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἢ ἄχαρις τιμὴ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρας συνθέντες, — ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων, — συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περιμήκεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρας πρὸς ἐσπέρας τε καὶ



τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὐρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκεν · διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπόφανσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων τριχοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχη ὁ βουλόμενος πλώειν πλοίοισι λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 11. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκολίνου δασύμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσαρα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων. παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ τάλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κορμούς ξύλων καταπρίσαντες, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδίας τῷ εὐρεῖ, κόσμῳ ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὄπλων τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ ἐπεξῆς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπεξεύγνουν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν ὕλην, γῆν ἐπεφόρησαν · κατανάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμὸν παρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέηται τὰ ὑποζύγια τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

12. Ὡς δὲ τά τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκεύαστο καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος (οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως πεπονημένη ἠγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμάτο ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὐτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίας τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς Μάγους, τὸ ἐθέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φάσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον, ὡς Ἑλλησι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψῖν τῶν πολιῶν, λέγοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων προδέκτορα, σελήνην δὲ σφέων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἐὼν

ἐποιέετο τὴν ἔλασιν. **13.** ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερημίσεις ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. προηγεῦντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι, τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵπποι δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τούδε· ἔστι πεδίον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον. τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδίον τούτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἴλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτῶ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἶπετο πεζῇ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβεβήκεε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὅτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

**14.** Ἐξήλασε μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ γενναιότατοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεζὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δούρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιὰς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ περίξ συνεκλήιον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας ροιὰς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιὰς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τράποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρὴ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππον διελέλειπτο

καὶ δύο σταδίου, καὶ ἔπειτεν ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἥϊε ἀναμίξ.  
**15.** ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, ὃς  
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὁρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρη-  
 σαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρέεθρον, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ  
 τε καὶ τοῖσι κτήνεσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ὡς ἀπίκετο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον  
 ἔχων θηήσασθαι. θηησόμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων  
 ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοὰς δὲ  
 οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι  
 νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρη δὲ  
 ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεύτεν.

**16.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέ-  
 σθαι πάντα τὸν στρατόν. καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 κυλωνοῦ ἐπίτηδες αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ  
 (ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος),  
 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἴζετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθηῖτο καὶ τὸν  
 πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας. θηεύμενος δὲ ἡμέρθη τῶν νεῶν ἄμιλλαν  
 γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων  
 Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.  
 Ὡς δὲ ὥρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτὰς καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν  
 πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμακά-  
 ρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. **17.** μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτά-  
 βανος ὁ πάτριος — ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευ-  
 θέως, οὐ συμβουλευὼν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λάδα — οὗτος ὦνῆρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἶρετο  
 τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργά-  
 σαι νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακαρίσας γὰρ σεωυτὸν  
 δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατοικ-  
 τεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἶη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων  
 γε ἑόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ἔτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζόην πεπόνθαμεν οἰκτρότερα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχείῳ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλάκις, καὶ οὐκ ἄπαξ, τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἷ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ προσπίπτουσαι, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσai, καὶ βραχὺν ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν θάνατος, μοχθηρῆς ἐούσης τῆς ζόης, καταφυγὴ αἰρετωτάτη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἑὼν. Ξέρξης δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων· Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἄνθρωπητῆς πέρι, ἐούσης τοιαύτης οἷον περ σὺ διαιρέειαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ κακῶν μεμνεώμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ.

**18.** Καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα μετεπέμψατο Ξέρξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων χρητίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ κατασχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσησι, ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεύδεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προαγορεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἦν κρατήσωμεν, οὐ μὴ τις ἡμῖν ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνωμεν, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγχασι.

**19.** Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διάβασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ιδέσθαι ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῆματά τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων καταγίζοντες καὶ μυρσίνησι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανετέλλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσεῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην

τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρέφασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐξάμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέετο. **20.** Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζὸς τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆτή. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἷ τε ἰππῶται καὶ οἱ τὰς λόγχας κάτω τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἷ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἰππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνήγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βασιλέα πάντων. **21.** Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξεω ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρση καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.

**22.** Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαλιν πρήσσων τοῦ πεζοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηάκης αἰγιαλὸς τε καὶ πεδῖον μέγα,

διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἑβρος. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ἑέρξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὰς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πάσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ἑέρξεω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν προσεχέα Δορίσκῳ ἐκόμισαν. 23. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποιέετο. Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρέιχον πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραφαν ἕξωθεν κύκλον, περιγράψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασιην περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ὕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιοικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὗ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσαν.

24. Ἑέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτός σφεας διεξελεύσας θηήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί, ἕως ἐξ ἐσχάτων ἐς ἔσχατα ἀπίκετο, καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ἑέρξης, μετεκβὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἔζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλωε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ τὸν πεζὸν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τὰς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκώχεον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλε-

μον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῶτων πλώων ἐθήεϊτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

25. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδὼν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀνύστατοι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ὅκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολιῶν τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀραιρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοῖα τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. 26. ἔνθα δὴ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτησι πανδημεὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἵζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμύνειν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροιχομένων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σίτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτησι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προείρητο ὁμοῖα τῷ δεῖπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπομένειν Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι. 27. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ τὰς νέας πορεύεσθαι, (Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένῃ, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει·) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο συντομώτατον εἶναι.

28. Ὁ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς. οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἵτησιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ

ὔδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οἷδε, Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Αἰνιῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μηλιέες, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῆται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πόλεμον αἰεράμενοι. τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· Ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἑόντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί εὖ τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. 29. ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπάρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἴτησιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασι τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεικε ἀνεθέλητον γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηιώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

30. Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐποιεῦντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὔδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θάρσος, ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβάρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομάχων δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδιζόντων δὲ προθύμως. 31. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπίφθονον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσω. εἰ



Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι βασιλέϊ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιοῦτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ἀλικομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γενναίως. 32. ἡ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρέοντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίγνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελίην τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλεὺς ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἂν τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τὰληθέος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτραπύοντο, ταῦτα ῥέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμήδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγεύραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφεας χρηστήρια φοβερά ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δεῖμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

33. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριάζεσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι. καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴζοντο, χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, τάδε·

ὦ μέλεοι, τί κάθησθε ; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης  
 Δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κύρηναι.  
 Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπεδον, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
 Οὔτε πόδες νέατοι, οὔτ' ὦν χέρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης  
 Λαίπεται, ἀλλ' αἰδέηλα πέλει. κατὰ γάρ μιν ἐρείπει 5  
 Πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξύς Ἄρης, Συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.  
 Πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον·  
 Πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μαλερῷ πυρὶ δώσει,  
 Οἳ πού νῦν ἰδρῶτι ρεοῦμενοι ἐστήκασιν,  
 Δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι 10  
 Αἷμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδον κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
 Ἄλλ' ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτου, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

34. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμ-  
 φορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέοντο. προβάλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεχρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,  
 τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ  
 σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτὶς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι  
 τῷ χρηστηρίῳ ὡς ἰκέτας. πειθομένοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι  
 Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· ὦναξ, χρήσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι  
 περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τύς τοι  
 ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν· 35. ταῦτα  
 δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα τάδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,  
 Λισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.  
 Σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὐτὶς ἔπος ἐρέω, ἀδίμαντι πελάσσας.  
 Τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὔρος  
 Ἐντὸς ἔχει κευθμών τε Κιθαιρῶνος ζαθέοιο, 5  
 Τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς  
 Μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.  
 Μηδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἰόντα  
 Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἠπείρου στρατὸν ἥσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν

Νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί κοτε κἀντίος ἔσση.

10

᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

᾽Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

**36.** Ταῦτά σφι ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραψάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὥς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γνῶμαι καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ αἶδε συνεστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥηχῶ ἐπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὴ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

᾽Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἡ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν φαμένων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον, ὥς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσσωθῆναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

**37.** Ἦν δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὦνῆρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω μιν δοκέειν ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε, ᾽Ω σχετλίη Σαλαμῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ᾽Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, εἴ πέρ γε ἔμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι

τὸ χρηστήριον συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὧν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσοντας συνεβούλενε, ὡς τούτου ἔontos τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος. ταύτῃ Θεμιστοκλέος ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι ἔγνωσαν αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων, οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτέεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ χεῖρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώραν τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. 38. Ἐτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνῶμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν ἠρίστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν μετᾴλλων σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξεσθαι ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμῆς. τότε Θεμιστοκλέης ἀνέγνωσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαιρέσιος ταύτης παυσαμένους, νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι διηκοσίας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος συστὰς ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ ἐχρήσθησαν, ἐς δέον δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταί τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον, ἐτέρας τε ἔδεε προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξέ τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομένους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.

39. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐγγόνεε· συλληγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοκεε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν χρημάτων πάντων καταλλύσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἔοντας πολέμους. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὧν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Αἰγινήταισι. μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ

στρατῶ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμίην συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἐς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύσοντας βοηθέειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῷ τὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἑλλησι.

### III. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν οἷοισι χώροις. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. στεινότερῃ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρῃ τε τῆς ἐσωτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν εἶναι πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλῃς. ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παρίεναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαίτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυρθάνεσθαι τὰ κατ' ἐκατέρους εἶναι. 2. Οἱ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγεος τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συνάγεται ἐς στενὸν εἶναι τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίας· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτεμίδος ἰρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσδοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στενωτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης,

ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνοὺς ὀπισθε ἔοντας εὐῶσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς ἄλλη μούνη. 3. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλείων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέρης οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνον ἐς τὴν Οἶτην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκεται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά, τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἰδρύται Ἡρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπήσαν. ἔδειμαν δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τεῖχος, δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτέεται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καταστρέφεσθαι σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανεόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τεῖχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρόνου ἐκέετο. 4. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπαμύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν βάρβαρον. κώμη δὲ ἔστι ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισυντιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι. ἅπαντα γὰρ προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρσῃ ἔντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὀρμεύμενος ἐκ Θέρμης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα

ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσουνσαι νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. **6.** Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπήλασαν περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλεόμενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ στήλην λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὀρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσατο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλώνοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανύουσι τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρης ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλέων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ὁ στρατός.

**7.** Αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῇ, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνῃσι ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων· ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὠρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ζεσάσης, ἐπέπεσε σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκήμενοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενοι ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἔφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπάσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνοὺς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλίῳ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. **8.** Λέγεται δὲ

λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφί ἄλλου χρηστηρίου τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὀρεΐθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοί σφί τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχέοντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἣ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθνόν τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὀρεΐθυιαν τιμωρῆσαί σφί καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβύρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἄθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβύροισι ὀρμέουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοί σφί λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκείνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰλισσόν. 9. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλαχίστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλέϊ τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μάγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιάδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὕτη χρηστὴ ἐγένετο, ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσέων εὔρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεια] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἄχαρις συμφορὴ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος. 10. σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμὸς, ὥστε δεῖσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ, μή σφί κεκακωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἕρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιεῦντες καὶ καταεῖδοντες γόησι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θετί καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες,



ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἣ ἄλλως κως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκόπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτι ἔθνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθείη ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπανα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ Σηπιῶς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων. **11.** Ὁ μὲν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμεροσκοποὶ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γεγόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξάμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην, ὀπίσω ἠπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινὰς σφί ἀντιξοούς ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλόχεον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε νομίζοντες. **12.** Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὡς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωτο, κατασπᾶσαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἠπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθέαν ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσουός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεύτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφήσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταιί. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξῳ ἐποιοῦντο.

**13.** Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζός, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς, ἐσβεβληκῶς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρεόμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὡς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι ἐλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ὀνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον

πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρέοντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἠπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. **14.** Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦϊε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τοῦτόν ἐστι χῶρος πεδινὸς, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ κάρτα στείνος. περὶ δὲ τὸν χῶρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαί πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαιΐης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχεῖος ῥέων ἐξ Ἐνιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἴκοσιν σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ οὖνομα κέεται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθούντα τῷ Ἡρακλεί καιομένῳ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. **15.** Τρηχίς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχίς πεπόλισται· δισχιλίᾳ τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ οὖρεος, τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφάξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφάγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν τοῦ οὖρεος. **16.** Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδιδοῖ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στεινότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοῖνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλέων κώμη τέ ἐστι, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθήλη κέεται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, καὶ χῶρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς,

ἐν τῷ Δήμητρὸς τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἴδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρὸν.

17. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι χωρίοις. ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. 18. Ἦσαν δὲ οὐδὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ. Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλίται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν Ἀρκιδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλιούντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδώκοντα. οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. 19. πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρόσδοκιμοὶ πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην. ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἶη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρεομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἶη δεινὸν οὐδέν. οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον. εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα. ὀφείλειεν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὥς εὐὸντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν ἄν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα. 20. Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν

νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκάστων· ὁ δὲ θω-  
 μαζόμενος μάλιστα, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεό-  
 μενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ  
 Λέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυ-  
 κράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου  
 τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώ-  
 τεω τοῦ Ἐχυστράτου τοῦ Ἡγίος τοῦ Εὐρυσθέneos τοῦ  
 Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληΐην ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐξ  
 ἀπροσδοκίτου. 21. διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἑόντων πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φρον-  
 τίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος  
 ἄπαιδος ἔρσηνος γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκέτι ἑόντος, ἀλλὰ  
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην  
 ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνει Κλεομ-  
 βρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦι ἐς Θερμο-  
 πύλας, ἐπιλεξιόμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστεῶτας τριηκο-  
 σίους, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἑόντες. 22. παραλαβὼν  
 δὲ ἀπίκετο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος  
 εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε  
 δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους  
 Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγορήτο  
 μηδίζειν. παρεκάλεε ὦν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι  
 εἴτε συμπέμψουσι εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν  
 Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.  
 23. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρῶτους ἀπέπεμψαν  
 Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρῶντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρα-  
 τεύωνται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνωνται  
 ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν,  
 ἐμελλον ὀρτάσαντες, καὶ φυλακὰς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ,

κατὰ τάχος βοηθήσειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνένωντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσιν· ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπίῳς τούτοισι τοῖσι πρήγμασι συμπεσοῦσα. οὐκ ὦν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προδρόμους.

24. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενένωντο ποιήσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς ὁ Πέρσης, καταρρωδέοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι Πελοποννησίοισι ἐδόκεε, ἐλθοῦσι ἐς Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ, Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν περισπερχεόντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθεῖν, ὥς ἐόντων αὐτῶν ὀλίγων στρατὸν τὸν Μήδων ἀλέξασθαι. 25. Ταῦτα βουλευομένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεά, ιδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποίεοιεν. ἡκηκόεε δὲ, ἔτι ἔων ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἡλισμένη εἶη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐθελήτο τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορθώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἐκέετο. ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι. τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς κόμας κτενίζομένους. ταῦτα δὴ θηγόμενος ἐθύνμαζε, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρεκέως, ἀπήλαυσε ὀπίσω κατ' ἡσυχίην· οὔτε γάρ τις ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐκύρῃσεν πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τά περ ὁπώπεε πάντα. 26. ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβα-

λέσθαι τὸ ἔδν, ὅτι παρασκευάζοντο ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημάρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, εἶντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἦκουσας μὲν μευ καὶ πρότερον, εὔτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔθεν λέγοντα τῇ περ ὤρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι. ἄκουσον δὲ καὶ νῦν. 27. οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὶ μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψεται, ἔστι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τό σε, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταειρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆην τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κάρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅντινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι εἶντες τῇ ἑωυτοῦ στρατῇ μαχέσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστη, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα.

28. Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξῆκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσεσθαι. πέμπτη δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεόμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μήδους τε καὶ Κισσίου θυμωθεῖς, ἐντειλόμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἄγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἐπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπεσῆσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίουν

παντί τεφ καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή δι' ἡμέρης. **29.** ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείποντο, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήϊσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπήϊσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἡρχε Ἰδάρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε εὐπετέως κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἑλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεينوπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ δούρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεόμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι.

**30.** Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ὑποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοισι μάχεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἀλέες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βίρβαροι ὀρέοντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβύροισι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλῆθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάετο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου, πειρεόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβάλλοντες, ἀπήλανον ὀπίσω.

**31.** Ἐν ταύτησι τῇσι προσόδοισι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θεούμενον τρὶς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δείσαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὕστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλεον· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἶους τε ἔσσεσθαι ἔτι χειράς ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάζοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἄλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώ-

ρων, ἀπὶ ἱλαυνον. **32.** Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέος ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιιάλτης ὁ Εὐρυδῆμον ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὡς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέος δοκέων οἴσεσθαι, ἔφρασέ τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος φέρουσιν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτῃ ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δέϊσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατῆλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπὶ κτείνει μὲν Ἐπιιάλτην δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμήθη μὲντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἔσπον. Ἐπιιάλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. **33.** Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὡς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσι οἱ εἴπαυτες πρὸς βασιλέα τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσησι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκίρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιιάλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιιάλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην οἶδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἔων μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὁμιληκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιιάλτης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ περιηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

**34.** Ξέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιιάλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ἰδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ἰδάρνης. ὥρμέατο δὲ περὶ λυχνῶν ἀφ' ἑκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλιέες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσα-



λοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε ὅτε οἱ Φωκέες, φράξαν-  
 τες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ  
 τε τοσοῦδε κατεδέδεκτο ἐοῦσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιεῦσι.  
**35.** Ἐχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφάγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα  
 δὲ τῷ οὐρεῖ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῇ τὠντο κέεται, Ἀνόπαια·  
 τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥάχιν τοῦ οὐρεος, λήγει δὲ  
 κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην ἐοῦσαν τῶν Λοκρίδων  
 πρὸς τῶν Μηλίων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον  
 λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στεινότατόν  
 ἐστι. **36.** κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν  
 οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν  
 νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ  
 δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἡὼς τε δὴ δέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπ'  
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασ-  
 σον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκῆων χίλιοι ὀπλί-  
 ται, ῥυόμενοί τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρέοντες τὴν  
 ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπ' ὧν  
 εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθελονταὶ Φωκέες  
 ὑποδεξιόμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἰφύλασσον. **37.** Ἐμαθον δὲ σφεας  
 οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐλάνθανον  
 οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὖρος πᾶν Ἴον δρυὼν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ  
 νηνεμία, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλων  
 ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες  
 καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτίκα οἱ βύρβαροι παρήσαν.  
 ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἠδυνομένους ὄπλα, ἐν θύματι ἐγένοντο·  
 ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφί φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξουν, ἱνεκύρησαν  
 στρατῷ. **38.** ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρνης, καταρρωδίσας μὴ οἱ  
 Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδα-  
 πὸς εἴη ὁ στρατὸς. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διέτασσε τοὺς  
 Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβύλλοντο τοῖσι

τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἐπιάλτεα καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τύχος.

39. Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι εὐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστίης, ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοὶ σφι θάνατον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγεῖλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκόποι καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἤδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἐνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίζοντο αἱ γνώμαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. 40. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφῶν ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος· αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρῶσι οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάξοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλεῖστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε αἴσθητο τοὺς συμμάχους ἔοντας ἀπροθύμους, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγα ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. 41. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιητέσι χρεομένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ἀντίκα κατ' ἀρχὴς ἐγειρομένου, ἡ Λακεδαιμόνα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἡ τὸν βασιλέα σφέων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χῶα, ἔχοντα ᾗδε·

Ὑμῖν δ', ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκίτορες εὐρυχόριοι,  
 Ἡ μέγα ἄστν ἔρικυδὲς ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσείδῃσι  
 Πέρθεται, ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης  
 Πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων  
 Ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδὲ ἔφημι  
 Σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

Ταῦτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος  
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμά-  
 χους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμη διενειχθέντας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχε-  
 σθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. 42. μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τὸδε  
 οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μούνον τοὺς  
 ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατιῇ ταύτῃ,  
 Μεγιστίνην τὸν Ἀκαρινῆνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνέκαθεν  
 ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τούτου τὸν εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρώων τὰ μέλ-  
 λοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,  
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν  
 οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ  
 μουνογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. 43. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀπο-  
 πεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ·  
 Θεσπίες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μούντοι παρὰ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ  
 βουλόμενοι (κατείχε γὰρ σφας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ  
 ποιεύμενος)· Θεσπίες δὲ ἐκόντες μύλιστα, οἳ οὐκ ἔφασαν  
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες, συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

44. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείλαντος σπονδὰς ἐποιή-  
 σατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς κου μάλιστα πληθῶρην,  
 πρόσοδον ἐποίεετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω.  
 ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἡ κατάβασις συντομωτέρῃ τέ ἐστι, καὶ

βραχύτερος ὁ χώρος πολλὸν ἤπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνά-  
 βασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν·  
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον  
 ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς  
 τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ αὐχένος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος  
 ἐφυλίσσεται, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς  
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν  
 στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε  
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μᾶστιγας ἐρράπιζον  
 πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. 45. πολλοὶ  
 μὲν δὴ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,  
 πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες κατεπατέοντο ζωοὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν  
 δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι  
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ  
 οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, παραχρεόμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δούρατα μὲν  
 νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηρικαῦτα ἐτύγχανε κατεηγότα  
 ἤδη, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. 46. Καὶ  
 Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄρι-  
 στος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν  
 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·  
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐνομα-  
 στοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ  
 Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγούνης γεγο-  
 νότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς, ὃς καὶ  
 ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ  
 ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μούνου οἱ ἐούσης ταύτης τέκνου. 47. Ξέρξέω  
 τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὠθι-

σμός ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξεΐρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκισ. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκεε μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. 48. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεῖνον τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμειψάμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες ἴζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχωσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, οἱ μὲν ἔξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τεύχους συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περισταδόν.

49. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπείων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἄριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτιήτης Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι σφῆας τοῖσι Μήδοισι· πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς, ἔπειαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οὔστων ἀποκρύπτουσι, — τοσοῦτό τι πλήθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πλήθος, ὥς πάντα σφὶ ὀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μήδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. 50. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοντότροπα ἔπειά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφεοὶ, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπείων δὲ εὐδοκίμῃε μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδεω.

51. Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδῃ ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἰμάχοντο  
Ἐκ Πελοποννάσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρ-  
τιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

᾽Ω ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε  
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
Μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς  
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος  
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες,  
τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεός  
ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

52. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε  
καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρεὼν αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ  
χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην (ὥς μεμετι-  
μένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδῃ, καὶ κατε-  
κέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον), ἢ εἴ γε  
μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, πα-  
ρεὼν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποίεειν, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν·  
ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτόν μὲν πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν  
Περσέων περίοδον, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα,  
ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅκως  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν  
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ  
λειποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. 53. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μούνον  
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγῆσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ  
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ,

οὐκ ἄν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ, τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφάσιος, οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μνηῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξεὼν αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

54. ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην. πᾶσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητέων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλούμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

55. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρήγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολῶνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἤϊσαν ἄσσον τῶν βαρβάρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μηδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλείῃ, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλείῃ. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας.

56. οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

βάρβαροι ἐλθόντας, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεωντιάδεω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτεν ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίῳν, καὶσχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

57. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρητον εἰρώτα ἀρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημάρητε, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, κόσσοι τινὲς εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὅκοσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλῆθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλόν, καὶ πόλιες πολλαί· τὸ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα κη, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οὐκ ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρητε, τέφ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, οἷα βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. . . .

58. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήϊε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδεω, ἀκηκοὺς ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δηλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἥκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε εἰς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμηνε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπετάκτο ποιεῖν.



IV. ARTEMISIUM.—MARCH OF XERXES TO ATHENS.—  
SALAMIS.—RETREAT OF XERXES TO ASIA.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιεῖς, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἔόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτώκαϊδεκα, Σικυνῶνιοι δὲ δώδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετρίες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρίες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Δοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ. 2. ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλήθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδew. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσσεσθαι στράτευμα. 3. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὼν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ἐρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιόν ἐστι, ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὧν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρι

ὅσους κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διίδεξαν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσέα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποיעῖντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausανίῳ ὕβριν προῖσχόμενοι, ἀπείλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφειτὰς, καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοεῖς ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδew προσμῆναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλίντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα, ὡς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὥς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, — Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορινθίων στρατηγός, τῶν λοιπῶν ἥσπαιρε μῦθος, φύμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, — πρὸς δὲ τούτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μῆδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδαιμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφετὰς περὶ δειλὴν πρωτὴν γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλῶοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. 7. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τὰδε ἐμχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας, περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιῶθου (ὥς ἂν μὴ ὀφθέωσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶουσαι Εὐβοίαν) κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φρύξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν ὁδὸν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλῶντων, ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῇσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, — ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δῦτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, — οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεω μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως·

θωμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ, ὡς ἔξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστα κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξελθών. 9. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι ἵκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖφ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδονσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτεν νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. 10. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε, δείλῃν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. ὀρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἳ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλῶοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι, πάγχυ σφί μανίην ἐπενείكانτες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες. τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορὴν τε ἐποιοῦντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει. οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφί ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἰδομένοις ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποιοῦντο, ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλέος λάμ-

ψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐσήμνηε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἔοντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχροῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκείως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλείᾳ Ἑλλήνων ἔόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. 12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγένετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο, καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι σφεας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίᾳ καρτερῇ, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος, καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὥρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραί. 13. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτῃ νύξ ἐγένετο· τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλῶειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι

ἀγριωτέρῃ, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφί ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθῇ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῶ πλέον εἶη. οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετῇσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφί ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφί ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλήσι ἐπεβώθειον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθούσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλώοντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνῃ ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινὸν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφί ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρῃσι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρύπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

16. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μη-

νοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλεύντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλώον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλθους τε καὶ πλήθους αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὁμως μέντοι ἀντείχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλευνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκάτεροι.

17. Παρῇν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος· — ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἐτοῖμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὐτῶς ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν· — οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγυότα περὶ Λεωνίδα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. 18. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε· Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστὶ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε

καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν· εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἶόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέξευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἔπεαν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε, μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνετε, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχήθην ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραψε, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα νοέων, ἵνα ἡ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ἑέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχη. . . .

19. Ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον [οἱ βάρβαροι]. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας ποδεῶν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας, ἣ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. 20. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν)· οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκεομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά. 21. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπὶ



κοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὠρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως συλίσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἡπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα. 23. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπύκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι, εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέν αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιὴν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀννηείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξήλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ

τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἶρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξηνηνιγμένα ἱρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦγε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφί τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὄπλα ἀρήϊα αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θουμάσαι μάλιστα. 25. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἶρόν τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέλαβον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγένετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πίντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβύροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβύντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἐφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὥς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὥρεον θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὀπλίτας, μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔχοντας], ἔπεσθαί σφί κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. 26. τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας εἶναι, Φυλάκον τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἶρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατ' ἐπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ῥαμπεῖ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

27. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς ἐφεισμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν εἶναι· οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφρων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. 28. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἦκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδiciaσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσὶ τε ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς εἰσὶν ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δ' ἢ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμονμένη, τότε ἦν ἄφαιστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μάλ' ὅσον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυῖας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δὲ σφί πάντα ὑπεξεκέετο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. 29. Ἐπεὶ

δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζήνης· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῶ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον, καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὧντος ὅσπερ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλεῖτος ἑών. νέας δὲ πολλῶ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιαι.

30. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐβουλευόντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδew γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλούμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπέιτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γινώμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχίειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμίνι μὲν εὐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται. 31. ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγόμενων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιδέων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηῖτο. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν, πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

**32.** Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἓνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιᾶδew ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρῆμον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἔοντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραζόμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρησί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήϊον, τὸ ἡ Πυθίῃ σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας. **33.** Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήϊον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυπεῖον περὶ τοὺς δῖστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξεον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας εἰλεῖν. **34.** χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλίων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίῃ ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἔοντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον

αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. **35.** Σχῶν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνην ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσαν σφί εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρά, ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, — εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὅψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. **36.** τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθεὺς τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῃ τε καὶ θύλασσά ἐνι, τὰ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρας μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

**37.** Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφί ἐξηγγέλθη ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τασοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἐς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὥς ἀποθουσόμενοι. τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμα-

χέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. 38. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησιφίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃ τι σφί εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμον καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφίας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται, οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἀπολέεταιί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κως δύνη ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιάδεα μεταβουλευσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μενέειν. 39. κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλγειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενος οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθεὶς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρητίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 40. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἶα κάρτα δεόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε· ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ραπίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύνται. 41. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδεα ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς

ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρῃσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμαχῶν οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων τάδε· Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορόν ἐστι νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρά καὶ Αἴγινα, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 42. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνοι, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν, — τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων, — αὐτὶς δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκείται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδέ σφεας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖς, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 43. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε προβήσονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-



χωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπητάς γνώμας. 44. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπὸλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτῳ ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθηναί. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὴ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὥς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῇ μέζων ἥπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφί ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμὸν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι. 45. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα· Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένω' ἔσει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὥς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἣ περ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. 46. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγη τὰς νέας. ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν. Οὕτῳ μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισόμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ναυμαχήσונτες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἄμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφί εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι

καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ὑπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

47. Ἐφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπεῖτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐούσα ἐρήμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὥς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωμύζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτε ὥν κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἱακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν, ὃ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο· 48. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ. τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδῃλα ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τρύπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὀρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὀρτῇ ἱακχάζουσι. 49. πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον· Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἶπης. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε

οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ρύσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων εὐδὲ εἰς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

50. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θηησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστίαιαν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρησι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλῶειν, ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἥσυχίην. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι, νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἤκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἄρρωδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχεῖν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀφύλακτον. 51. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρικοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅπως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολιῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεύχος·

ἄτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἡνύετο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

52. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλίμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμῶς ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὔτῳ περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὥς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστάς συγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιούμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν, ὥς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεῶν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρας δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

53. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὥς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μῆδων ἀνδρα πλοῖφ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεῶν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὥς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὅς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόνται καταρρωδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον

ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἐωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή. 54. ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρας κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοίεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίφ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς, ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἐκέετο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυνθανοῖατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτίοντο.

55. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός. ἤδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρεον αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνησι καὶ δικαιοτάτον.

οὗτος ὦνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἔξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, εἶντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλῃ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἔξεκαλέετο, ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι. προακηκόες δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. 56. ὥς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεῶν ἐστὶ, ἐν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάζεται. λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθευτεν Πελοποννησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἦν ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης, οἳοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλώσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμνηνον. 57. Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεϊλας. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἠθελον εἰς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφι ἡγγεῖλον. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν, καὶ οὐ πείσω ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφι σήμνηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σήμνηης, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις. 58. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγισ ἐκπλώσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ἀλεξησομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα

εἶπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτῖς ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. 59. ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένης, ἣ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βύρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

60. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἣ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἀπ᾽άσας οἱ Ἕλληνες. 61. ἀναγομένοισι δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βύρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβύλλει. συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· Αἰγιηται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύσασθαι, ὥστε καὶ

ἅπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· Ὡ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε ; 62. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὔτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὔτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐβελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν μνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί. 63. Περὶ μὲν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκερατίζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδὲν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷον περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξεα, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα. 64. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεί· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπῖκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ νηὺς ἢ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα δια-



φυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐούσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε ποιησάσῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νητὶ φιλήν ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλώοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου. 65. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγγέγονεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἑόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρῃσε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηὺς. ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλόα ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος, ὥς εἶδε μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νητὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ὑποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. 66. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεκε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηγόμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· Δέσποτα, ὁρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην, ὥς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι εἰ ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστάετο εἶναι πολεμίνην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὥς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεκε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

67. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἀδελφεὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ

ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθύρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλείῃ, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον. 68. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνευκε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολίσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιούδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηϊκίῃ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο, καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγίναίῃ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηϊκῶν τὴν νῆα. ἅτε δὴ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρηϊκῆς τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. 69. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας, οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεῖ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμίνοσ, τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπνυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἑὼν

Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρὲν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικητοῦ πάθεος.

70. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλωόντων πρὸς τὸ Φῶληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεραΐζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅπως δέ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας. 71. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νῆϊ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιαθῷ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηϊ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἤλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίῃ, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. ὥς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήϊον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηϊ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, τῶν αἰνέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φῶληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν. 72. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλώοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἐκέετο μύριαι δραχμαὶ, ὃς ἂν μιν ζῶν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας

στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

73. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὥσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφί κέλῃτα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα· ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλῃτος λέγειν τάδε· Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἡρώωνσ' ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. 74. Ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροὶ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα, αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφί καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. 75. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτέων, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

76. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι εἶναι, ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσησι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖονα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι·

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

77. Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δείσας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποβῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλῶειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσει, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε· ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειράτο διαχοῦν, γαυλούς τε Φοινικητοὺς συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίας ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρόντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον εἶναι τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης. 78. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε, καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρικοῦσάν σφι συμφορὴν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὃ τι θάσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν εἶναι· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται

τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὅσων ἂν ἡμερέων ἦ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τεταγμένος, τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-  
 νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἐνωτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδόει τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεον ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατάπερ Ἑλλήσι ἢ λαμπαδη-  
 φορίῃ, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελεύουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δρόμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. 79. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχει Ἀθήνας Ξέρ-  
 ξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν, καὶ ἐθυμίον θυ-  
 μήματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεξελθούσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέοντο ἀπλῆτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίουν, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

80. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἑφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λό-  
 γοις τὰ ἔργα πειρεόμενον ὁμοίᾳ. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπήγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὡς τάχως εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδιάς πορευθῆναι βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπταὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευ-  
 γον ἐπὶ πολλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλληχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 81. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγέ-

νετο, ὁρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζόν, ἡλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξήσομενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξῳ στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπέιδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἀνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας, πλώειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας. 82. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς, εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεῖη ἀπολαμφθεῖς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῶτο ἂν ἰσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἰσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρῶειν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῶ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλιν τε καὶ κατ' ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλισκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων. τροφὴν τε ἔξουσιν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσεα, ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

83. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλῶειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότες περιμέκτεον, ὠρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλῶειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὧλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγέ

σφι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμεν, καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιαύτε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέραν κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ (εὕρημα γὰρ εὗρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλύδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.

84. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεύσαι, ἔοντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτύσθαλον· ὃς τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπρὺς τε καὶ καταβύλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγύλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θύλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἄλλ' εὐ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων· καὶ τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἔχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσεα, ἵνα, ἣν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστροφὴν· τὴν περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο.

85. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη ἔων ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, ἀντίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾷ, ἐς πᾶσαν βύσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φρίσσει· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτὶς ἐγένετο. οἳ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἳ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλῆος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄρι-



στος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργεῖν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζω. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω.

86. Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρξει, ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξήλυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἄνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν· χειμερίσαι δὲ ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτεν ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειραῶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκато ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόنيος ἐξελέγετο πρῶτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλήν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σύκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους· ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι. 87. Ξέρξης δὲ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὐστinas ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὗροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποιήν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοῖον περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίουν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν διέφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ

νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσω τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἶρον ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παῖονες τοῖσι Θρηῖξι, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω, ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηϊκῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. 88. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρηϊκῆς πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἀβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὔρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι, καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις. 89. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορήσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ἰδάρνῃ ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλώοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίν. καὶ δὴ, μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, γεμούσης τῆς νεὸς ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἶρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην, εἴ τις ἐστὶ σφι σωτηρία. καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, ἢν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων. 90. καὶ Ξέρξεα λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι· Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἴκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἢ σωτηρία. Τὸν μὲν

ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνην τὸν κυβερνήτηα, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

91. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμησι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξουν, μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα, ἔοντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεόμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

92. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηῖωσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξείλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν λήϊην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεὸς, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυνάδεκα πηχέων. 93. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς λήϊης ἔπλωον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἀριστήϊα δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωματῷ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος

γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοις ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. 94. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλωνόντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῖκετο ἐθέλων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπέδεξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίῃς δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλείῃ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδωρήσαντο δὲ μιν ὄχρῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλὰ προέπεμψαν ἀπὸντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἱππῆες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν· μῦνον δὲ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. 95. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ' ἂν σὺ, ὦνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

96. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγεγόμενος, ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέρισε ἐν Κύμῃ.

# THUCYDIDES.

## PYLUS AND SPHACTERIA.

1. Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ ἥρος, πρὶν τὸν σῆτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι, Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἄγις ὁ Ἀρχιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς· καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐδήουν τὴν γῆν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τὰς τε τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐς Σικελίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὥσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ στρατηγούς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους Εὐρυμέδοντα καὶ Σοφοκλέα· Πυθόδωρος γὰρ ὁ τρίτος αὐτῶν ἤδη προαφίκτο ἐς Σικελίαν. 2. εἶπον δὲ τούτοις καὶ Κερκυραίων ἅμα παραπλέοντας τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιμεληθῆναι, οἳ ἐληστεύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει φυγίδων· καὶ Πελοποννησίων αὐτόσε νῆες ἐξήκοντα παρεπεπλεύκεσαν τοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τιμωροὶ, καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος μεγάλου ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες κατασχέσειν ῥαδίως τὰ πρίγματα. Δημοσθένει δὲ, ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἣν βούλῃται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 3. καὶ ὥς ἐγένοντο πλείοντες κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι αἱ νῆες ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ἦδη εἰσὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὁ μὲν Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Πύλον πρῶτον ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ πράξαντας ἅ δέ τι τὸν πλοῦν ποιείσθαι· ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ, κατὰ τύχην χειμῶν ἐπιγενόμενος κατήνεγκε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Πύλον. 4. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης εὐθὺς ἡξίου τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον, — ἐπὶ τούτῳ

γὰρ ξυνέπλευσε, — καὶ ἀπέβαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερόν ὄν καὶ ἐρήμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας· ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἢ Πύλος τῆς Σπύρτης τετρακοσίου, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὐσῇ γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούλῃται καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. 5. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐπέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ἐγχειρήσαντες εἰργάζοντο, σιδήρια μὲν λιθουργὰ οὐκ ἔχοντες, λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους, καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὥς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνει· καὶ τὸν πηλὸν, εἴ που δέοι χρῆσθαι, ἀγγείων ἀπορία ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου ἔφερον, ἐγκεκυφότες τε ὥς μάλιστα μέλλοι ἐπιμένειν, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τοῦπίσω ξυμπλέκοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι. 6. παντὶ τε τρόπῳ ἠπειγόντο φθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα ἐξεργασάμενοι πρὶν ἐπιβοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ πλεόν τοῦ χωρίου αὐτὸ καρτερόν ὑπῆρχε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδει τείχους. οἱ δὲ ἑορτὴν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες, καὶ ἅμα πυνθανόμενοι ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὥς ὅταν ἐξέλθωσιν ἢ οὐχ ὑπομούντας σφᾶς ἢ ῥαδίως ληψόμενοι βία· καί τι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὦν ἐπέσχευ. τειχίσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἡπειρον καὶ ἂ μάλιστα ἔδει ἐν ἡμέραις ἕξ, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην μετὰ νεῶν πέντε αὐτοῦ φύλακα καταλείπουσιν, ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι ναυσὶ τὸν ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλοῦν καὶ Σικελίαν ἠπειγόντο. 7. οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντες Πελοποννήσιοι, ὥς ἐπύθοντο τῆς Πύλου κατειλημμένης, ἀνεχώρουν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἴκου, νομίζοντες μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἁγίς ὁ βασιλεὺς οἰκεῖον σφίσι τὸ

περὶ τὴν Πύλον· ἅμα δὲ πρὸ ἐσβαλόντες, καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς, χειμῶν τε ἐπιγενόμενος μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν ἐπίεσε τὸ στρατεύμα. ὥστε πολλαχόθεν ξυνέβη ἀναχωρῆσαί τε θάσσουν αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχυτάτην γενέσθαι τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην· ἡμέρας γὰρ πεντεκαίδεκα ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

8. Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Πελοποννησίων, οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων βράδυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἡ ἔφοδος, ἄρτι ἀφιγμένων ἀφ' ἐτέρας στρατιᾶς. περιήγγελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον βοηθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κερκύρα ναῦς σφῶν τὰς ἐξήκοντα ἔπεμψαν, αἱ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν, καὶ λαθοῦσαι τὰς ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Πύλον· παρῇν δὲ ἤδη καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός. Δημοσθένης δὲ, προσπλεόντων ἔτι τῶν Πελοποννησίων, ὑπεκπέμπει φθάσας δύο ναῦς ἀγγεῖλαι Εὐρυμέδοντι καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐν Ζακύνθῳ Ἀθηναίοις παρεῖναι, ὡς τοῦ χωρίου κινδυνεύοντος. καὶ αἱ μὲν νῆες κατὰ τάχος ἔπλεον κατὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους· 9. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλόντες κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἐλπίζοντες ραδίως αἰρήσειν οἰκοδόμημα διὰ ταχέων εἰργασμένον, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἐνόντων. προσδεχόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ζακύνθου τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν βοήθειαν, ἐν νῷ εἶχον, ἣν ἄρα μὴ πρότερον ἔλωσι, καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους τοῦ λιμένος ἐμφράξαι, ὅπως μὴ ἦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐφορμίσασθαι ἐς αὐτόν. 10. ἡ γὰρ νῆσος ἡ Σφακτηρία καλουμένη, τὸν τε λιμένα, παρατείνουσα καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐπικειμένη, ἐχρὸν ποιεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἔσπλους στενοὺς, τῇ μὲν δυοῖν

νεοῖν διάπλουν κατὰ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν Πύλον, τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην ἡπειρον ὀκτῶ ἢ ἐννέα· ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἄτριβῆς πᾶσα ὑπ' ἐρημίας ἦν, καὶ μέγεθος περὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου μάλιστα. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔσπλους ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀντιπρώροις βύζην κλήσειν ἔμελλον· τὴν δὲ νῆσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται, ὀπλίτας διεβίβασαν ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον ἄλλους ἔταξαν.

**11.** Δημοσθένης δὲ, ὁρῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μέλλοντας προσβάλλειν ναυσὶ τε ἅμα καὶ πεζῷ, παρεσκευάζετο καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις αἵπερ ἦσαν· αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν ἀνασπάσας ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα προσεσταύρωσεν, καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥπλισεν ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσυνύταις ταῖς πολλαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὄπλα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ πορίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ληστρικῆς Μεσσηνίων τριακοντόρου καὶ κέλητος ἔλαβον, οἱ ἔτυχον παραγενόμενοι. **12.** ὀπλίται τε τῶν Μεσσηνίων τούτων ὡς τεσσαράκοντα ἐγένοντο, οἷς ἐχρήτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς τῶν τε ἀόπλων καὶ ὥπλισμένων ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχισμένα μάλιστα καὶ ἐχυρὰ τοῦ χωρίου πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἔταξε, προειπὼν ἀμύνασθαι τὸν πεζόν, ἦν προσβάλλη· αὐτὸς δὲ, ἀπολεξόμενος ἐκ πάντων ἐξήκοντα ὀπλίτας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους, ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν.

**13.** Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἄραντες, τῷ τε κατὰ γῆν στρατῷ προσέβαλλον τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅμα, οὗσαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισὶν· ναύαρχος δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπέπλει Θρασυμηλίδας ὁ Κρατησικλέους, Σπαρτιώτης· προσέβαλλε δὲ ἡπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης προσεδέχετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης,



ἡμύνοντο · οἱ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλείοσι προσσχεῖν, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει, τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, προθυμία τε πάσῃ χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῷ, εἴ πως ὠσάμενοι ἔλοιεν τὸ τεῖχοςμα.

**14.** πάντων δὲ φανερώτατος Βρασίδας ἐγένετο. τριηραρχῶν γάρ, καὶ ὀρών τοῦ χωρίου χαλεποῦ ὄντος τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ κυβερνήτας, εἴ πῃ καὶ δοκοίη δυνατόν εἶναι σχεῖν, ἀποκνοῦντας καὶ φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν μὴ ξυντρίψωσιν, ἐβόα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη, ξύλων φειδομένους, τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιδεῖν τεῖχος πεπονημένους, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε σφετέρας ναῦς βιαζομένους τὴν ἀπόβασιν καταγνύναι ἐκέλευεν, καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μὴ ἀποκνήσαι ἀντὶ μεγάλων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ναῦς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιδοῦναι, ὀκείλαντας δὲ καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἀποβάντας, τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ χωρίου κρατῆσαι.

**15.** καὶ ὁ μὲν τοὺς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχεν, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὀκείλαι τὴν ναῦν, ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν · καὶ πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν, ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλειποψύχησέ τε καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξαιρεσίαν ἡ ἀσπίς περιερρύη ἐς τὴν θύλασσαν, καὶ ἐξενεχθείσης αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν γῆν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνελόμενοι ὕστερον πρὸς τὸ τροπαῖον ἐχρήσαντο ὃ ἕστησαν τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προῦθυμοῦντο μὲν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι, τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων. **16.** ἐς τοῦτό τε περιέστη ἡ τύχη, ὥστε Ἀθηναῖους μὲν ἐκ γῆς τε καὶ ταύτης Λακωνικῆς ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκείνους ἐπιπλέοντας, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἐκ νεῶν τε καὶ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πολεμίαν οὔσαν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἀποβαίνειν · ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε, τοῖς μὲν ἡπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλείστον προέχειν.

17. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τῆς ὑστεραίας μέρος τι προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐπέπαυτο· καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλα ἐς μηχανὰς παρέπεμψαν τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἐς Ἀσίην, ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἐλεῖν μηχαναῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ζακύνθου νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίνονται πεντήκοντα· προσεβοήθησαν γὰρ τῶν τε φρουρίδων τινὲς αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Ναυπάκτου καὶ Χίαι τέσσαρες. ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὴν τε ἡπειρον ὀπλιτῶν περίπλεων τὴν τε νῆσον, ἔν τε τῷ λιμένι οὔσας τὰς ναῦς καὶ οὐκ ἐκπλεούσας, ἀπορήσαντες ὅπῃ καθορμίσωνται, τότε μὲν ἐς Πρωτὴν τὴν νῆσον, ἣ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχει, ἐρῆμος οὔσα, ἔπλευσαν καὶ ἠϋλίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία παρασκευασάμενοι ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἣν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὥς αὐτοὶ ἐπεςπλευσούμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὔτε ἀντανήγοντο, οὔτε ἂ διανοήθησαν, φράσαι τοὺς ἔσπλους, ἔτυχον ποιήσαντες, ἡσυχάζοντες δ' ἐν τῇ γῇ τὰς τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ἣν ἐσπλήντισ, ὥς ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὄντι οὐ σμικρῷ ναυμαχήσαντες.

18. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες καθ' ἐκάτερον τὸν ἔσπλουν ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλείους καὶ μετεώρους ἤδη τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἀντιπρώρους προσπесόντες ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐπιδιώκοντες ὥς διὰ βραχέος ἔτρωσαν μὲν πολλὰς, πέντε δ' ἔλαβον καὶ μίαν τούτων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυῖαις ἐνέβαλλον. αἱ δὲ καὶ πληρούμεναι ἔτι πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι ἐκόπτοντο. καὶ τινὰς καὶ ἀναδούμενοι κενὰς εἰλκον, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμημένων.

19. ἂ ὁρῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ περιαλγούντες τῷ πάθει, ὅτι περ αὐτῶν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπελαμβάνοντο ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, παρεβοήθουν, καὶ ἐπεςβαίνοντες ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀνθεῖλκον ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι

τῶν νεῶν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλύσθαι ἔδόκει ἕκαστος ᾧ μή  
τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν. ἐγένετό τε ὁ θόρυβος μέγας,  
καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένοις τοῦ ἐκατέρων τρόπου, περὶ τὰς ναῦς.  
οἳ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως,  
ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν· οἳ τε Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι κρατοῦντες, καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὥς ἐπὶ  
πλείστον ἐπεξελλεῖν, ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεξομάχουν. πολὺν τε  
πόνον παρασχόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τραυματίσαντες, διεκρί-  
θησαν, καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς κενὰς ναῦς πλὴν τῶν τὸ  
πρῶτον ληφθεῖσων διέσωσαν. καταστάντες δὲ ἐκάτεροι  
ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ νεκροὺς  
ἀπέδωσαν καὶ ναυαγίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὴν νῆσον εὐθὺς  
περιέπλεον, καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον ὥς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπειλημ-  
μένων· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων  
ἤδη βεβοηθηκότες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἐπὶ τῇ Πύλῳ.

20. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὥς ἡγγέλθη τὰ γεγενημένα  
περὶ Πύλον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἐπὶ ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, τὰ  
τέλη καταβιάντας ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον βουλευεῖν, παραχρή-  
μα ὀρώντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ. καὶ ὥς εἶδον ἀδύνατον ὄν τιμω-  
ρεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἢ ὑπὸ  
λιμοῦ τι παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢ ὑπὸ πλήθους βιασθέντας κρατη-  
θῆναι, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων,  
ἣν ἐθέλωσι, σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους τὰ περὶ Πύλον, ἀπο-  
στεῖλαι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις περὶ ξυμβάσεως, καὶ  
τοὺς ἄνδρας ὥς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι κομίσασθαι. 21. δε-  
ξαμένων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν λόγον, ἐγίνοντο σπονδαὶ  
τοιαίδε. Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τὰς ναῦς ἐν αἷς ἐναυμάχησιν  
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσαν μακραὶ, παρα-  
δοῦναι κομίσαντας ἐς Πύλον Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὅπλα μὴ ἐπι-  
φέρειν τῷ τειχίσματι μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν,  
Ἀθηναίους δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀνδράσι σίτον ἑᾶν τοὺς ἐν

τῇ ἡπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκπέμπειν τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, δύο χοίνικας ἐκάστῳ Ἀττικὰς ἀλφίτων καὶ δύο κοτύλας οἴνου καὶ κρέας, θερμύονται δὲ τούτων ἡμίσεα, ταῦτα δὲ ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐσπέμπειν, καὶ πλοῖον μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν λάθρα· φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν ἤσσουν, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, καὶ ὄπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ στρατῷ μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλασσαν. 22. ὃ τι δ' ἂν τούτων παραβαίνωσιν ἐκάτεροι καὶ ὁτιοῦν, τότε λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. ἐσπεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰς μέχρι οὗ ἱπανέλθωσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τριήρει Ἀθηναίους καὶ πῦλιν κομίσαι. ἐλθόντων δὲ, τὰς τε σπονδὰς λελύσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηναίους ὁμοίας οἷαςπερ ἂν παραλάβωσιν. αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν οὖσαι περὶ ἐξήκοντα, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν. . . .

23. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοσαῦτα εἶπον, νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ σπονδῶν μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν, σφῶν δὲ ἐναντιουμένων κωλύεσθαι, διδομένης δὲ εἰρήνης ἀσμένως δέξεσθαι τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποδώσειν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς, ἔχοντες τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἤδη σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον ἐτοιμούς εἶναι, ὅποτε βούλωνται, ποιέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, τοῦ δὲ πλέονος ὠρέγοντο. 24. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνήγε Κλέων ὁ Κλεαινέτου, ἀνὴρ δημαγωγὸς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ὦν καὶ τῷ πλήθει πιθανώτατος· καὶ ἔπεισεν ἀποκρίνασθαι ὥς χρὴ τὰ μὲν ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ παραδόντας πρῶτον κομισθῆναι Ἀθήναζε, ἐλθόντων δὲ, ἀποδόντας Λακεδαιμονίους Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, — ἃ οὐ πολέμῳ ἔλαβον ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας ξυμβάσεως, Ἀθηναίων ξυγχωρησάντων κατὰ ξυμφορὰς καὶ ἐν τῷ τότε δεομένων

τι μᾶλλον σπονδῶν, — κομίσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι ὅποσον ἂν δοκῇ χρόνον ἀμφοτέροις. 25. οἱ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπον, ξυνέδρους δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἐλέσθαι, οἷτινες λέγοντες καὶ ἀκούοντες περὶ ἐκάστου ξυμβήσονται κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ὃ τι ἂν πείθωσιν ἀλλήλους. Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, λέγων γιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ πρότερον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας δίκαιον αὐτοὺς, σαφὲς δ' εἶναι καὶ νῦν, οἷτινες τῷ μὲν πλήθει οὐδὲν ἐθέλουσιν εἰπεῖν, ὀλίγοις δὲ ἀνδράσι ξύνεδροι βούλονται γίγνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται, λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἅπασιν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἷόν τε ὅν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἔς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες, οὔτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ μετρίοις ποιήσοντας ἃ προυκαλοῦντο, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄπρακτοι. 26. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, διελύοντο εὐθύς αἱ σπονδαὶ αἱ περὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπήτουν, καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες — ἐπιδρομήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι παράσπονδον καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι — οὐκ ἰπεδίδοσαν, ἰσχυριζόμενοι ὅτι δὴ εἴρητο, εἰ καὶ ὅτιοῦν παραβαθῇ, λελῦσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέλεγόν τε καὶ, ἀδίκημα ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἀπελθόντες ἐς πόλεμον καθίσταντο. 27. καὶ τὰ περὶ Πύλον ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ κράτος ἐπολεμεῖτο, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δυοῖν νεοῖν ἐναντίαιν ἀεὶ τὴν νῆσον περιπλέοντες τῆς ἡμέρας, — τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅποτε ἄνεμος εἴη· καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν αὐτοῖς ἑξοσι νῆες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐγένοντο, — Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατοπεδεύομενοι καὶ προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι τῷ τείχει,

σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι ὥστε τοὺς ἄνδρας σῶσαι.

28. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πύλῳ ἔτι ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον τῶν Πελοποννησίων κατὰ χώραν ἔμενεν, ἐπίπονος δ' ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἡ φυλακὴ σίτου τε ἀπορία καὶ ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κρήνη ὅτι μὴ μία ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῆς Πύλου, καὶ αὕτη οὐ μεγάλη, ἀλλὰ διαμώμενοι τὸν κύχληκα οἱ πλείστοι ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἔπινον οἶον εἰκὸς ὕδωρ. στενοχωρία τε ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐγγίγνετο· καὶ τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἔχουσῶν ὄρμον, αἱ μὲν σίτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ἤρουντο κατὰ μέρος, αἱ δὲ μετέωροι ὥρμουν. 29. ἀθυμίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρείχε παρα λόγον ἐπιγιγνώμενος, οὓς ᾤοντο ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσειν, ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι ἀλμυρῷ χρωμένους. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προειπόντες ἐς τὴν νήσον ἐσάγειν σίτον τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἀλληλεσμένον καὶ οἶνον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βρῶμα, οἶον ἂν ἐς πολιορκίαν ξυμφέρῃ, τύξαντες ἀργυρίου πολλοῦ, καὶ τῶν Εἰλωτῶν τῷ ἐσαγαγόντι ἐλευθερίαν ὑπισχνούμενοι. καὶ ἐσῆγον ἄλλοι τε παρακινδυνεύοντες καὶ μάλιστα οἱ Εἰλωτες, ἀπαίροντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὁπόθεν τύχοιεν, καὶ καταπλέοντες ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐς τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τῆς νήσου. 30. μάλιστα δὲ ἐτήρουν ἀνέμφω καταφέρεσθαι· ῥᾶον γὰρ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τριήρων ἐλάνθανον, ὅποτε πνεῦμα ἐκ πόντου εἴη· ἄπορον γὰρ ἐγγίγνετο περιορμεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδῆς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει· ἐπώκελλον γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα τετιμημένα χρημάτων, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται περὶ τὰς κατάρσεις τῆς νήσου ἐφύλασσον. ὅσοι δὲ γαλήνῃ κινδυνεύσειαν ἠλίσκοντο. ἐσένεον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι, καλωδίῳ ἐν ἀσκοῖς ἐφέλκοντες μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομ-

μένον· ὧν τὸ πρῶτον λανθανόντων, φυλακαὶ ὕστερον ἐγένοντο· παντί τε τρόπῳ ἐκάτεροι ἐτεχνῶντο, οἱ μὲν ἐσπέμπειν τὰ σιτία, οἱ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν σφᾶς.

31. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πυνθανόμενοι περὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς, ὅτι ταλαιπωρεῖται καὶ σίτος τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὅτι ἐσπλεί, ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ σφῶν χειμῶν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι. πάντων δὲ ἐφοβούντο μάλιστα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι· καὶ μετεμέλοντα τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ δεξάμενοι. 32. Κλέων δὲ, γνούς αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψίαν περὶ τῆς κωλύμης τῆς ξυμβάσεως, οὐ τάληθῇ ἔφη λέγειν τοὺς ἐξαγγέλλοντας. παραινούντων δὲ τῶν ἀφιγμένων, εἰ μὴ σφίσι πιστεύουσι, κατασκόπους τινὰς πέμψαι, ἤρέθη κατάσκοπος αὐτὸς μετὰ Θεογένους ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γνούς ὅτι ἀναγκασθήσεται ἢ ταῦτά λέγειν οἷς διέβαλλεν ἢ τῶναντία εἰπὼν ψευδὴς φανήσεσθαι, παρήνει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠρμημένους τι τὸ πλεόν τῇ γνώμῃ στρατεύειν, ὥς χρὴ κατασκόπους μὲν μὴ πέμπειν μηδὲ διαμέλλειν καιρὸν παριέντας, εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἀληθῇ εἶναι τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, πλείν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου στρατηγὸν ὄντα ἀπεσήμενεν, ἐχθρὸς ὧν καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν, ῥάδιον εἶναι παρασκευῇ, εἰ ἄνδρες εἶεν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, πλεύσαντας λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς γ' ἂν, εἰ ἦρχεν, ποιῆσαι τοῦτο.

33. Ὁ δὲ Νικίας, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, ὅς τι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλέει εἰ ῥάδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται, καὶ ἅμα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα, ἐκέλευεν ἥντινα βούλεται δύναμιν λαβόντα τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι ἐπιχειρεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, οἰόμενος αὐτὸν λόγῳ μόνον ἀφίεναι, ἐτοῖμος ἦν· γνούς δὲ τῷ ὄντι παραδωσείοντα, ἀνε-

χώρει, καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνων στρατηγεῖν, δεδιὼς ἤδη, καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενός οἱ αὐτὸν τολμῆσαι ὑποχωρῆσαι. αὐτοῖς δὲ ὁ Νικίας ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλῳ ἀρχῆς, καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐποιεῖτο. 34. οἱ δὲ, οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέων ὑπέφευγε τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐξανεχώρει τὰ εἰρημένα, τόσῳ ἐπεκελεύοντο τῷ Νικίᾳ παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβόων πλεῖν. ὥστε οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως τῶν εἰρημένων ἔτι ἐξαπαλλαγῇ, ὑφίσταται τὸν πλοῦν, καὶ παρελθὼν οὔτε φοβείσθαι ἔφη Λακεδαιμονίους, κλεύσεσθαί τε λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδένα, Δημνίους δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας, καὶ πελταστὰς οἱ ἦσαν ἕκ τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ταῦτα δὲ ἔχων, ἔφη, πρὸς τοῖς ἐν Πύλῳ στρατιώταις, ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν ἢ ἄξειν Λακεδαιμονίους ζῶντας ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενεῖν. τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐνέπεσε μὲν τι καὶ γέλωτος τῇ κουφολογίᾳ αὐτοῦ· ἀσμένοις δ' ὅμως ἐγίγνετο τοῖς σώφροσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, λογιζομένοις δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν τοῦ ἐτέρου τεύξεσθαι, ἢ Κλέωνος ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι (ὃ μᾶλλον ἤλπιζον), ἢ σφαλεῖσι γνώμῃς Λακεδαιμονίους σφίσι χειρώσασθαι.

35. Καὶ πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων αὐτῷ τὸν πλοῦν, τῶν τε ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἓνα προσελόμενος, Δημοσθένην, τὴν ἀναγωγὴν διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένην προσέλαβε πυνθανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν νῆσον διανοεῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, κακοπαθοῦντες τοῦ χωρίου τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκοῦντες, ὥρμητο διακινδυνεύσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι ῥώμην καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχεν. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς οὔσης ὑλώδους ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς διὰ τὴν αἰὲ ἐρημίαν, ἐφοβεῖτο, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε μᾶλλον εἶναι· πολλῶ



γὰρ ἂν στρατοπέδῳ ἀποβάντι ἐξ ἀφανοῦς χωρίου προσβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς βλάπτειν. 36. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθέντων διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς νήσου τοῖς ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι διὰ προφυλακῆς, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης ἄκοντος, [καὶ] ἀπὸ τούτου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου τὸ πολὺ αὐτῆς ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν. οὕτω δὲ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον κατιδὼν πλείους ὄντας (ὑπονοῶν πρότερον ἐλάττωσι τὸν σῖτον αὐτοὺς ἐσπέμπειν) τὴν τε νήσον εὐαποβατωτέραν οὖσαν, τότε — ὥς ἐπ' ἀξιόχρεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι — τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο, στρατιῶν τε μεταπέμπων ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς ξυμμάχων, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐτοιμάζων.

37. Κλέων δὲ, ἐκεῖνῳ τε προπέμψας ἄγγελον ὥς ᾔξων, καὶ ἔχων στρατιὰν ἣν ᾔτήσατο, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Πύλον. καὶ ἅμα γενόμενοι πέμπουσι πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ στρατόπεδον κήρυκα, προκαλοῦμενοι εἰ βούλονται ἄνευ κινδύνου τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἄνδρας σφίσι τά τε ὄπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κελεύειν παραδοῦναι, ἐφ' ᾧ φυλακῇ τῇ μετρίᾳ τηρήσονται, ἕως ἂν τι περὶ τοῦ πλέονος ξυμβαθῇ. οὐ προσδεξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, μίαν μὲν ἡμέραν ἐπέσχον, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνηγάγοντο μὲν νυκτὸς ἐπ' ὀλίγας ναῦς, τοὺς ὀπλίτας πάντας ἐπιβιβάσαντες, πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἔω ὀλίγον ἀπέβαινον τῆς νήσου ἐκατέρωθεν, ἕκ τε τοῦ πελάγους καὶ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος, ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα ὄντες ὀπλίται, καὶ ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον φυλακτήριον τῆς νήσου. 38. ὧδε γὰρ διετετάχατο· ἐν ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ φυλακῇ ὥς τριάκοντα ἦσαν ὀπλίται, μέσον δὲ καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πλείστοι αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπιτάδας ὁ ἄρχων εἶχεν, μέρος δέ τι οὐ πολὺ αὐτὸ τοῦσχατον ἐφύλασσε τῆς νήσου τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον, ὃ ἦν ἐκ τε θαλάσσης ἀπόκρημνον καὶ

ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἤκιστα ἐπίμαχον· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ἔρυμα αὐτόθι ἦν παλαιὸν λίθων λογάδην πεποιημένον, ὃ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ὠφέλιμον ἂν εἶναι, εἰ καταλαμβάνοι ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρᾳ.

39. Οὕτω μὲν τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἐν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι, ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰομένων αὐτῶν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς πλεῖν. ἅμα δὲ ἔφ' ἡγενομένη καὶ ὁ ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀπέβαινον, ἐκ μὲν νεῶν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων πάντες πλὴν θαλαμίων, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι, τοξόται τε ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσους τούτων, Μεσσηνίων τε οἱ βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι περὶ Πύλον κατείχον πάντες πλὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους φυλάκων. 40. Δημοσθένους δὲ τάξαντος διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους τε καὶ πλείους, ἔστι δ' ἢ ἐλάσσους, τῶν χωρίων τὰ μετεωρότατα λαβόντες, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστη ἀπορία ἦ τοῖς πολεμίοις πανταχόθεν κεκυκλωμένοις, καὶ μὴ ἔχωσι πρὸς ὃ τι ἀντιτάσσονται, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολοι γίγνονται τῷ πλήθει, εἰ μὲν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐπίοιεν, ὑπὸ τῶν κατόπιν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ δὲ τοῖς πλαγίοις, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν παρατεταγμένων. 41. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ ὁ Δημοσθένης τό τε πρῶτον τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐπενόει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἔταξεν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπιτάδαν, καὶ ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὡς εἶδον τό τε πρῶτον φυλακτῆριον διεφθαρμένον, καὶ στρατὸν σφίσιν ἐπιόντα, ξυνετάξαντο καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπήεσαν, βουλόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· ἐξ ἐναντίας γὰρ οὗτοι καθεστήκεσαν, ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ κατὰ νώτου. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀπλίταις οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν προσμῖξαι οὐδὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρῆσασθαι· οἱ γὰρ ψιλοὶ ἐκατέρωθεν βάλλοντες εἰργον, καὶ

ἅμα ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἀντεπήρσαν ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζον· τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς, ἣ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσθέοντες προσκείοντο, ἔτρεπον· καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἡμύνοντο, ἄνθρωποι κούφως τε ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ προλαμβάνοντες ῥαδίως τῆς φυγῆς, χωρίων τε χαλεπότητι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας τραχέων ὄντων, ἐν οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠδύναντο διώκειν ὅπλα ἔχοντες.

42. Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ὀλίγον οὕτω πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡκροβολίσαντο· τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκέτι ὀξέως ἐπεκθεῖν ἢ προσπίπτοιεν δυναμένων, γνόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ψιλοὶ βραδυτέρους ἤδη ὄντας τῷ ἀμύνασθαι, . . . καταφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐμβοήσαντες ἀθρόοι ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἔβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις, ὡς ἕκαστός τι πρόχειρον εἶχεν. γενομένης δὲ τῆς βοῆς ἅμα τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ, ἔκπληξίς τε ἐνέπεσεν ἀνθρώποις ἀήθεσι τοιαύτης μάχης, καὶ ὁ κονιορτὸς τῆς ὕλης νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης ἐχώρει πολὺς ἄνω, ἄπορόν τε ἦν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ λίθων ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μετὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ ἅμα φερομένων. 43. τό τε ἔργον ἐνταῦθα χαλεπὸν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καθίστατο· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ πῖλοι ἔστεγον τὰ τοξεύματα, δορυτία τε ἐναποκέκλαστο βαλλομένων, εἶχόν τε οὐδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι, ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἔσακούοντες, κινδύνου τε πανταχόθεν περιεστῶτος, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀμυνομένους σωθῆναι.

44. Τέλος δὲ, τραυματιζομένων ἤδη πολλῶν διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ξυγκλήσαντες ἐχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ἔρυμα τῆς νήσου, ὃ οὐ πολὺ ἀπέειχεν, καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν φύλακας. ὡς δὲ ἐνέδοσαν, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη πολλῶ ἐτι πλέονι βοῇ τεθαρσηκότες οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐπέκειντο· καὶ τῶν

Λακεδαιμονίων ὅσοι μὲν ὑποχωροῦντες ἐγκατελαμβάνοντο ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ, διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα, μετὰ τῶν ταύτῃ φυλάκων ἐτάξαντο παρὰ πᾶν, ὥς ἀμυνόμενοι ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον. 45. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπισπόμενοι περίοδον μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν χωρίου ἰσχύϊ οὐκ εἶχον, προσιόντες δὲ ἐξ ἐναντίας ὥσασθαι ἐπειρῶντο. καὶ χρόνον μὲν πολὺν καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον ταλαιπωρούμενοι ἀμφοτέροι ὑπὸ τε τῆς μάχης καὶ δίψους καὶ ἡλίου ἀντεῖχον, πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐξελάσασθαι ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι· ῥᾶον δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡμύναντο ἢ ἐν τῷ πρὶν, οὐκ οὔσης σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως ἐς τὰ πλάγια.

46. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει, ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς· εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν, περιμέναι κατὰ νώτου αὐτοῖς ὁδῶ ἢ ἂν αὐτὸς εὖρη, δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον. λαβὼν δὲ ἃ ἠτήσατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὀρμήσας, ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρείκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προβαίνων, καὶ ἢ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύϊ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσον, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθεν· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανείς κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ ἐξέπληξεν, τοὺς δὲ ἃ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλῶ μάλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. 47. καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βαλλόμενοί τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη, καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι (ὥς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι) τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, — ἐκείνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀτραπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκράτουν ἤδη τῶν ἐφόδων.

48. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὅτι, εἰ καὶ

ὅποσονοῦν μᾶλλον ἐνδώσουσι, διαφθαρησομένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς σφετέρας στρατιᾶς, ἔπαυσαν τὴν μάχην καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπείρξαν, βουλόμενοι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους ζῶντας, εἴ πως τοῦ κηρύγματος ἀκούσαντες ἐπικλασθεῖεν τῇ γνώμῃ [τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι] καὶ ἡσσηθεῖεν τοῦ παρόντος δεινοῦ. ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλονται τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥστε βουλευσαί ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνοι δοκῇ· οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες παρήκαν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ πλείστοι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέσεισαν, δηλοῦντες προσίεσθαι τὰ κεκρυγμένα. 49. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, γενομένης τῆς ἀνακωχῆς, ξυνήλθον ἐς λόγους ὃ τε Κλέων καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης, καὶ ἐκείνων Στύφων ὁ Φάρακος, τῶν πρότερον ἀρχόντων τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τεθνηκότος, Ἐπιτάδου, τοῦ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἰππαγρέτου ἐφηρημένου ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ἔτι ζώντος κειμένου ὡς τεθνεώτος, αὐτὸς τρίτος ἐφηρημένος ἄρχειν κατὰ νόμον, εἴ τι ἐκείνοι πάσχοιεν. 50. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Στύφων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτι βούλονται διακηρυκεύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ὃ τι χρὴ σφᾶς ποιεῖν. καὶ ἐκείνων μὲν οὐδένα ἀφέντων, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καλούντων ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου κήρυκας καὶ γενομένων ἐπερωτήσεων δις ἢ τρίς, ὁ τελευταῖος διαπλεύσας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνὴρ ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κελεύουσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι, μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας. 51. οἱ δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς βουλευσάμενοι, τὰ ὄπλα παρέδοσαν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τᾶλλα διεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἐς πλοῦν, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς τριηράρχοις διεδίδοσαν ἐς φυλακὴν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες τοὺς νεκροὺς διεκομίσαντο.

52. Ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ζῶντες ἐλήφθησαν τοσοῖδε· εἴκοσι μὲν ὀπλίται διέβησαν καὶ τετρακόσιοι οἱ πάντες· τούτων ζῶντες ἐκομίσθησαν ὀκτὼ ἀποδέοντες τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπέθανον. καὶ Σπαρτιᾶται τούτων ἦσαν τῶν ζώντων περὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν· ἡ γὰρ μίχῃ οὐ σταδία ἦν. χρόνος δὲ ὁ ξύμπας ἐγένετο ὅσον οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐπολιορκήθησαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας μέχρι τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μάχης, ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέραι καὶ δύο. τούτων περὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς οἱ πρέσβεις περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἀπήεσαν, ἐσιτοδοτοῦντο, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τοῖς ἐσπλέουσι λάθρα διετρέφοντο. καὶ ἦν σίτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ἄλλα βρώματα ἐγκατελήφθη· ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων Ἐπιτάδας ἐνδεεστερώς ἐκάστω παρείχεν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

53. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ τῆς Πύλου ἑκάτεροι ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τοῦ Κλέωνος, καίπερ μανιώδης οὔσα, ἡ ὑπόσχεσις ἀπέβη· ἐντὸς γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ἤγαγε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη. παρὰ γνώμην τε δὴ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτο τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο· τοὺς γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους οὔτε λιμῷ οὔτ' ἀνάγκῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ἤξιουν τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ ἔχοντας καὶ μαχομένους ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀποθνήσκειν. 54. ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους, καὶ τινος ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἓνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου αἰχμαλώτων εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κύγαθοι, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ, πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον (λέγων τὸν οἰστὸν) εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκε, δήλωσιν ποιούμενος ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι διεφθείρετο.

55. Κομισθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβού-

λευσαν δεσμοῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς φυλάσσειν μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβώσιν, ἣν δ' οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβάλλωσιν, ἐξαγαγόντες ἀποκτείνειν. τῆς δὲ Πύλου φυλακὴν κατεστήσαντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ναυπάκτου Μεσσηνιοὶ ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην (ἔστι γὰρ ἡ Πύλος τῆς Μεσσηνίδος ποτὲ οὔσης γῆς) πέμψαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους, ἐλήϊζόν τε τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλείστα ἔβλαπτον, ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες. 56. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ληστείας καὶ τοιούτου πολέμου, τῶν τε Εἰλώτων αὐτομολούντων, καὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ μακρότερον σφίσι τι νεωτερισθῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ, καίπερ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἔνδηλοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὴν τε Πύλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ μειζόνων τε ὠρέγοντο, καὶ πολλάκις φοιτῶντων αὐτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπον. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Πύλον γενόμενα.

# NOTES.

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## XENOPHON: ANABASIS.

THE expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes — the ANABASIS — was in the year 401 B. C. The march from Sardis to the neighborhood of Babylon began in March or April; and about six months later, in September or October, the battle of Cunaxa was fought, in which Cyrus was killed, in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother, and the Greeks, though victorious in their part of the battle, were left without a chief, at the King's mercy. They were more than a thousand miles from home; and their choice lay between returning through the hostile country of the Persians, and a retreat towards the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, through the mountainous region and the barbarous tribes that lay between. While negotiating for permission to return, and safe-conduct by land or sea, five of their officers were treacherously seized and put to death. It is in the distress, perplexity, and terror of this catastrophe that the ensuing narrative begins.

The famous "retreat of the ten thousand Greeks," along the upper waters of the Tigris, and through the highlands of Armenia, brought them to the shore of the Black Sea, at Trapezus (Trebisonde), about the middle of February, B. C. 400. This winter march, occupying nearly three months of actual travel, and extending over about fifteen hundred miles, is the subject of the two books here given. The narrative was written out by Xenophon, some years later, from notes taken at the time; and is referred to by himself (apparently) in the "Hellenica" as the work of Themistogenes. It contains by far the most vivid picture that has ever been given of the temper, discipline, and endurance of those citizen-soldiers who made up the Grecian forces; and along with it, an authentic and most curious account of those tribes of mountaineers who lived just outside the circle of the then civilized world.

About three years before the Anabasis, the Peloponnesian War had ended (B. C. 404) in the downfall of Athens and the complete overthrow of her supremacy, — as told in the extract from Xenophon's "Hellenica" given in this volume. The Greeks who joined Cyrus in



his enterprise were mostly soldiers of fortune from those disbanded armies which had filled Greece with adventurers and ruined men, ready to take service under any military chief who could promise them work and pay. "Most of them," says Xenophon, "had not gone out to this service for lack of subsistence, but because they heard of the worth of Cyrus; some brought armed followers with them, others invested money; of these some forsook their parents, others left children behind, so as to earn money for them, and bring it to them on their return." Some, like Xenophon, were men of a superior grade, disheartened by the political condition of things that followed the war, and drawn into this expedition by personal admiration of the prince, or personal attachment to some of his officers. Cyrus, at the time of his death, was about twenty-four years old: a man of great ability, ambition, and force, who had been an active ally of the Lacedaemonians in their war of conquest against Athens. Xenophon seems in the narrative to have been about thirty: he was a pupil and friend of Socrates, a thoroughbred Greek gentleman and soldier; but greatly disaffected towards the new democracy of Athens, and of strong sympathy with the Spartans.

NOTE. — The references are to the sections of Goodwin's Elementary Greek Grammar.

BOOK 3. — CHAP. I. 1. *δοα . . . ἔπραξαν . . . δεδήλωται*, *what the Greeks did, &c. has been told*. — *τῇ . . . τῇ* (see G. 141, N. 3; 142, 2, N. 4). — *ἀναβάσει*, i. e. the march upward (*ἀνα-βαίνω*), from the coast towards Babylon. — *ἐτελεύτησε*: the aor. following a leading verb in a past tense has often (like the Latin perf. after *postquam*) the sense of the plup., *had perished*. — *ἀπιόντων . . . ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς*, *while they were retreating* (pres. part. G. 204) *during the armistice*. — *ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ* (G. 141, N. 3), *in the preceding narrative*, i. e. in the two previous books.

2. *οἱ στρατηγοί*, i. e. the five (see above). — *συναληγμένοι ἦσαν* periphrastic plup. (G. 98) from *συλλαμβάνω*, *had been seized*. — *λοχαγῶν*, &c. part. gen. (G. 168) with *οἱ συνεπόμενοι*. — *ἀπωλώσαν* (G. 104, N.), v. *ἀπόλυμι*. — *ἐπὶ . . . θύραις*; their distance was about 350 miles from Babylon. — *ἦσαν* (G. 243, N. 2). — *κύκλῳ*, like the English *a-round*. — *ἔμελλον*, with fut. inf. (G. 98, 3; 202, 3, N.), *was likely*. — *ἀπέιχον*, *were distant*. — *Ἑλλάδος*, *from Greece* (G. 177). — *τῆς οἰκαδε ὁδοῦ* (G. 141, N. 3). — *προῖδ- for προεδ-* (G. 9, 2; 105, 1, N. 1), v. *προδίδωμι* — *οἱ . . . βάρβαροι* (G. 276, 1), the Persians of Cyrus's army; these were more than 100,000 under the command of Ariaeus. — *μόνοι* (pred. nom.), *left alone*. — *καταλειμμένοι*, v. *καταλείπω*. — *οὐδὲ . . . οὐδένα* (G. 283, 8). — *νικῶντες*, *if they should be victorious* (G. 226, 1). — *κατακάνοιεν*: the form *-κάνω* for *-κτείνω* is common in Xen. — *ἡττηθέντων* (*ἡττάομαι*, used for pass. of *νικάω*), gen. abs. with *αὐτῶν*, or partitive gen. after *οὐδεῖς*. — *λειφθείη*, v. *λείπω*.

3. ἐννοούμενοι, *having in mind*. — ἀδόμως ἔχοντες, *being disheartened*: with ἔχω the adverb has the meaning of the adjective with εἰμί. — εἰς, *at* or *towards*. — σίτου (G. 171, 2). — ἀνέκανσαν, v. ἀνακαίω. — τὰ δπλα, i. e. the place where their arms were stacked. — νύκτα (G. 161). — ἀνεπαύοντο . . . ἕκαστος, *they would lie down where each chanced to be* (sc. ὧν, G. 279, 2): observe the force of the imperfect. — πατρίδων, &c. objective gen. after πόθου (G. 167, 3). — οὐποτ' is translated as if it qualified δεῖσθαι (G. 203).

Page 2. — 4. Ξενοφῶν: "the inspiration now fell, happily for the army, on one in whom a full measure of soldierly strength and courage was combined with the education of an Athenian, a democrat, and a philosopher. It is in the true Homeric vein, and in something like Homeric language, that Xenophon describes his dream, or the intervention of Oneiros, sent by Zeus, from which this renovating impulse took its rise." Grote. — μετεπέμψατο (aor.), *had sent for him*. — ξένος, *guest-friend*: by a curious transition, this word signifies at once *stranger, foreigner, mercenary soldier, guest, and friend*; here, a stranger, or foreigner, who has been brought into the relation of guest, and so, by a sort of freemasonry, becomes a private friend, though he might be a public enemy. — εἰ ἔλθοι . . . ποιήσω (G. 246, 247): the direct discourse would be ἐὰν ἔλθῃς, ποιήσω, and ἐὰν ἔλθῃ might have been used here, like ἐπεὶ δὲ λήξῃ in § 9 (below). — ὃν . . . πατρίδος, *whom he (Proxenus) himself* (G. 145, 1) *said he considered a better friend to him than his country* (G. 175, 1). Proxenus was one of the generals slain by the treachery of the Persians.

5. ὁ Ξενοφῶν (G. 141, N. 1 δ). — Σωκράτης: Socrates the philosopher, Xenophon's master and friend. — μὴ . . . εἴη, *lest it might be matter of accusation by the state* (G. 218): the subject of εἴη is γενέσθαι (G. 259). — τοῖς Δακ.: dat. governed by σύν in συμπολεμήσαι (G. 187): for the aor. infin., see G. 203. — ἐλθόντα, agreeing with αὐτόν understood.

6. ἐπήρετο: the aor. ἠρόμην (from ἔρομαι) is common; but ἐρωτάω is almost always used for the forms from the present stem. — τίνι (interrog.) . . . εὐχόμενος, *by sacrifice and prayer to which of the gods: ἄν qualifies ἔλθοι and σωθείη* (G. 212, 4). — ἰδόν, cognate acc. (G. 159). — καλῶς πράξας, like the English *doing well*. — ἀνείλεν, v. ἀναίρῶ. — θεοῖς: dat. for acc. by inverse attraction, a rare construction (G. 153, N. 4).

7. ᾗτις, v. αἰτιάομαι. — ἠρώτα, v. ἐρωτάω. — τοῦτο, in appos. with the clause πότερον . . . μένειν. — πότερον εἴη (G. 243). — ἵτεον εἶναι, *that he was bound to go* (G. 281, 2). — ὅπως ἂν . . . πορευθεῖη, indirect question (G. 245): the direct form would be πῶς ἂν πορευθεῖην; *how could I go?*

8. οἷς (G. 153, N. 1): the antecedent is ἐκείνοις τοῖς θεοῖς understood. — ἐξέπλεα, v. ἐκπλέω (G. 123, N. 1). — μέλλοντας (G. 138, N. 2 α). — ἰδόν (G. 159). — συνεσταθῇ (συνίστημι, G. 126, 1, N.), *was introduced*.

9. συμπροϊθύμειτο (imperf.), *joined in urging*. — ἐπειδὴν . . . λήξῃ . . . ἀποπέμψαι (G. 247): after εἶπε, ἐπειδὴ λήξειεν would be more common. — ἀποπέμψαι, *will (for would) dismiss him* (G. 243; 202, 4).

10. *ἰσχυρατεύετο* (imperf.), *continued on the expedition*. — *πλήν* (G. 182, N.). — *εἰ* (G. 203, 243). — *ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ*: the word *βασιλεύς* is used without the article (as a title) in speaking of the king of Persia.

Page 3. — *φοβούμενος* . . . *δμως*, *though fearing, &c. and reluctant, yet* . . . — *ἀλλήλων*, *Κύρου*, obj. gen. after *αἰσχύνην* (G. 167, 3).

11. *λαχών*, v. *λαγχάνω*: for its government, see G. 170, 2, and N. — *ἔδοξεν*, v. *δοκέω*: the subj. is *σκηπτός*. — *πεισείν*, v. *πίπτω* (G. 203). — *πάσαν*, sc. *οἰκίαν*: subj. of *λάμπεσθαι*, as if governed by the impersonal *ἔδοξεν*.

12. *ἀνηγέρθη*, v. *ἀνεγείρω*, *was roused, woke*. — *πῇ* . . . *πῇ*, *partly* . . . *partly*. — *ἰδεῖν*: the aor. *εἶδον* is connected with the tenses of *ὄραω*. — *μὴ οὐ δύναιτο*, *lest he might not be able*, following *ἐφοβείτο*.

13. *ὅποιον* . . . *ἐστί*, *but what it is*. — *ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων*, *from what happened* (G. 139). — *πρώτον μὲν*, see the corresponding *ἐκ τούτου*, § 15. — *εἰκός*, *it is likely*. — *εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα* (G. 223, N. 1). — *ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ*, *in the King's power*. — *ἐπιδόντας*, v. *ἐπείδον*, *having lived to see*. — *τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχί* . . . *ἀποθανεῖν*; (G. 263, 1, N.; 283, 7. — *παθόντας*, v. *πάσχω*. — *ἀποθανεῖν*, v. *ἀποθνήσκω*.

14. *ἀμυνόμεθα* (fut. mid.), *how we may defend ourselves* (G. 217). — *ἔξόν*, v. *ἔξεστι*, *just as if it were possible* (G. 278, 2). — *οὐ* . . . *ἔτι*, *never*.

15. *ἐκ τούτου*, *upon this*: we should expect *ἐκ δὲ τούτου*, see § 13. — *ἔτι*, *any longer*. — *ἐν οἷσι*, *in what straits* (G. 139).

16. *δῆλον ὅτι* = *evidently*. — *οὐ πρότερον* . . . *πρὶν*, *not until* (G. 240).

Page 4. — *ἐξέφηναν*, v. *ἐκφαίνω*, *opened war upon us*. — *παρεσκευάσθαι* (perf. infin. pass., see G. 113, N. 4), *had been got ready* (G. 246). — *ἀγωνιόμεθα* (fut. mid., G. 120, 3), of *ἀγωνίζω* (G. 217).

17. *ύφηςόμεθα*, v. *ύφίημι*, *yield ourselves*. — *πέισεσθαι*, v. *πάσχω*. — *ὅς*, causal rel. (G. 238), *since he*. — *ὥς* . . . *ποιήσοντας*, *intending to make him a subject [slave] instead of king*. — *ἄν* qualifies *παθεῖν* (G. 211). — *καί* . . . *καί*, emphatic. — *καί* . . . *ἤδη*, *even when already dead*. — *ἡμᾶς*, subj. of *παθεῖν*. — *κηδεμὼν οὐδεὶς*, *no relative* (as Cyrus had his mother). — The subj. of *ἰσχυρατεύσαμεν* is *οἱ*, understood from the preceding *οἱ*s (G. 156, N.).

18. *ἄρ' οὐκ* . . . *ἐλθοι*, *would he not make every effort?* — *τὰ ἔσχατα*, cognate acc. (G. 159, N. 4). — *αἰκισάμενος*, implying both *ignominy* and *torture*. — *τοῦ στρατεύσαι* (G. 262, 2), objective genitive after *φόβον*. — *ποιητίον*, governing *πάντα* (G. 281, 2).

19. *οἰκτερῶν*, *μακαρίζων* (G. 279, 1). — *αὐτῶν*, limiting the phrase *δοσὴν* . . . *ἔχοιεν*, &c. it need not be translated. — *ἑσθήτα*, *clothing*, in general.

20. *ὅποτε ἐνθυμούμην*, *whenever I considered* (G. 233). — The passage from *ὅτι* to *λογιζόμενος* is a sort of parenthesis, disconnected from the grammatical structure of the sentence ("anacoluthon"): in direct construction, we should have, *οὐδένως μίττει*, and *ἐὰν μὴ πρῶτα* (G. 225, 247). — *ἀγαθῶν*, *good things*, gen. after *οὐδένως*. — *μετρίῃ* (impera. with

gen. and dat. (G. 184, 2, N. 1; 243). — *οπου δ' ἀνησόμεθα*, *wherewith to buy* (gen. of price, G. 178); the antecedent (*ἀργύριον* understood) follows *ἔχοντας*, *I know that few had*, &c. (G. 280). — *ἄλλως . . . ὀνομαζόμενοι*, *to get supplies in any other way than by purchase*, following *κατέχοντας*, *our oaths withheld us*.

21. *ἀθλα*, pred. in appos. with *ἀγαθὰ*, *as prizes*. — *ὁποῖοι*, *whichever party*, with antecedent omitted: the comparative form is used in reference to the two sides, Persian and Greek. — *ἔσιν* (G. 232, 3).

22. *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. the Gods, whom the Persians have mocked by perjury (*ἑπωρκήκασιν*), G. 158, N. 2. — *θεῶν*, object. gen. after *ὅρκους*. — *εἶναι*, following *δοκεῖ*, *I think we may*. — *πολύ*, adverbial, qualifying *μείζον*. — *τούτοις*, dat., agreeing with *ἡμῖν* understood after *εἶναι*.

Page 5. — 23. *ἐτι*, *besides*. — *τούτων*, genitive of comparison (G. 175, 1), *than they*. — *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*, *by the Gods' help*. — *οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες*, i. e. the enemy. — *ἂν διδώσιν* (G. 223), *if the Gods should grant us*, &c. The future apodosis is implied in *τρωτοί*, &c., *more liable to be wounded and killed*; in consequence of the superior armor of the Greeks.

24. *ἀλλ' ἴσως γάρ*, *but [enough,] for perhaps*: an ellipsis of this kind is very frequent with *ἀλλὰ γάρ*. — *ἀναμένωμεν* (G. 253). — *παρακαλοῦντας* (G. 120, 2) future part. (G. 277, 3). — *τοῦ ἐξορμήσαι*, gen. after *ἄρξωμεν* (G. 171; 262, 2). — *φάνητε*, v. *φαίνω*, *show yourselves*.

25. *καγὼ = καὶ ἐγώ* (G. 11). — *ἡλικίαν*: Xenophon appears to speak as a youth; but if, as other testimonies show, he was a man of forty, he may refer to his inexperience as commander.

26. *πλὴν*, *except that*. — *ἦν . . . εἶπεν*, for the simpler *βοιωτιάων τῇ φωνῇ εἶπεν*, *said with a Boeotian accent*. — *οτι . . . λέγοι* (G. 247) = *φλυαρεῖ δοτις λέγει*. — *δοτις λέγοι*, *who said*; not *who should say*. — *σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν*, *would find safety* (G. 171, 1). — *τυχεῖν ἂν = τύχοιμι ἂν*, *I should find (if I should try)*. — *ἄλλως . . . ἢ πείσας*, *otherwise than by persuading*.

27. *μεταξὺ ὑπολαβόν*, *interrupting in the midst*. — *ἐν ταύτῳ τούτοις*, *in the same place with these* (G. 186, N. 2). — *ἐπεὶ . . . ἀπέθανε*, i. e. *after Cyrus was killed*: *ἐπεὶ* = *postquam*. — *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, *at this*, the death of Cyrus.

28. *τί οὐκ ἐποίησε* (see § 18), *what did he leave undone?*

29. *σπονδαῖς* (G. 184, 2). — *οὐ νῦν . . . οὐδὲ . . . δύνανται*: (the *οὐ* is interrog.) *are they not unable, wretched men! even to die!* — *τούτου*, governed by *ἐρῶντες* (G. 171, 2). — *τοὺς . . . κελεύοντας*, *those bidding us defend ourselves*, subj. of *φλυαρεῖν* after *φῆς*.

Page 6. — *πάλιν*, qualifying *κελεύεις*: it appears from this "that Apollonides had been one of those who had held faint-hearted language (An. II. i. 14) shortly after the death of Cyrus. This helps to explain the contempt and rigor with which Xenophon here treats him. Nothing indeed could be more deplorable, under present circumstances, than for a man to show his acuteness by summing up the perils around." Grote.

30. ἔμοι δοκεῖ, *I think it right*. — ἀφελόμενος, ἀναθίνας, agree with ἡμᾶς understood, subj. of χρῆσθαι: *deprive him of his command, lay our packs upon him, and treat him as such* (i. e. as a pack-bearer).

31. ὦτα (G. 197, 1, N. 2), *with both his ears bored*; ὦτα, &c. presupposes an active construction τρυπᾶν τὰ ὦτα αὐτῷ, *to bore his ears for him*.

32. ἀπῆλασαν, v. ἀπελαύνω. — οἴχοιτο, *was gone*. — ὅπου . . . εἴη . . . οἴχοιτο . . . εἴη (G. 233; see also 200, N. 3).

33. εἰς . . . δπλων, *at the front of the encampment* (v. § 3, G. 191, N. 6). — ἐγένοντο, *amounted to* (in number), *not were*. — μεσαὶ νύκτες, plural, referring to the divisions of the night.

34. ἤρχετο (v. ἀρχω) *began*. — ὧδε, *as follows*. — ὁρῶσι, dat. of the participle agreeing with ἡμῖν, which follows ἔδοξε; αὐτοῖς intensive (G. 145, 1), referring to ἡμῖν: *it seemed best to us, when we saw, . . . ourselves to meet*, &c. — βουλευσαίμεθα (G. 216, 1). — εἰ δυναίμεθα (G. 248, N.). — πρὸς ἡμᾶς, understand ἔλεξας, *what you said to us*.

35. τάδε, *as follows* (G. 148, N. 1). — συναλήφασιν, v. συλλαμβάνω. — ἡμῶν, partitive gen. after οὗς. — δῆλον ὅτι, see § 16. — ἀπολέσωσιν, v. ἀπόλλυμι (G. 216, 1). — ἡμῖν, *by us*, following ποιητέα (G. 188, 3; 281, 1). — The two clauses of this section are ταῦτα μὲν . . . ἡμῖν δέ. — δυναίμεθα (G. 223).

36. συνελήυθατε, v. συνέρχομαι. — μέγιστον καιρόν, *the grandest opportunity*.

Page 7. — ἀθύμως, pred. after ὑμᾶς. — ἦν . . . ἦτε, *if you shall be manfully preparing*. — ὑμεῖς is subject of the two clauses, αὐτοὶ τε . . . ἦτε (G. 280, N. 1; 145, 1), καὶ παρακαλήτε (G. 223).

37. τούτων, gen. of comparison after διαφέρειν (G. 175, 2). — τι, *something*, qualifying διαφέρειν (G. 160, 2). — χρήμασι, *pay*. — ἀξιούν δέι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, *we have a right to expect that you, &c.*

38. ὀνήσαι ἄν, *would help*, v. ὀνίνημι (G. 226, 3). — εἰ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν, v. -καθίστημι, *if you would provide that for (ἀντί) the perished . . . be substituted* (G. 224; 217; 201, N. 2). — ὥς . . . εἰπεῖν, *to speak briefly* (G. 184, 5; 268). — συνελόντι, v. συναιρέω. — οὐδαμοῦ (G. 283, 8); contrasted with παντάπασιν, *chief of all*.

39. ἐπειδὴν . . . ἦν καὶ, *when you have . . . if then, &c.* (see G. 232, 3). — ποιῆσαι ἄν (G. 211; 226, 3). — πάνυ ἐν καιρῷ, *quite seasonably*.

40. ὥς ἀθύμως, *how spiritless*. — οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων, *at least while they are so*: gen. abs. with αὐτῶν understood. — ὅ τι, *for what service* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

41. ὥς . . . ποιήσουσι, *so that they may think not only of this, what they are to suffer, but also of what they are to do*.

42. ἰωσιν (G. 233). — ἔρρωμένεστέροι (compar. of the perf. part. pass. of ῥώννυμι), *more vigorous*. — τούτους is antecedent of ὁπότεροι: *such men their foes do not abide*. — ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *generally (for the most part)*.

Page 8. — 43. ζῆν, v. ζᾶν. — ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, *any way they can*. — ἐγνώκασι, perf. of γινώσκειν. — τούτους, antecedent of ὅποιοι. — ἀφικνουμένους (G. 280). — διαγόντας, *passing their life*. — ὥς ἂν ζῶσιν (G. 233).

44. αὐτοὺς, *ourselves* (emphatic). — καὶ . . . παρακαλεῖν, *and call on the rest (to be so too)*.

45. τοσούτον . . . ὅσον, *I knew only so much of you, as that . . .* — ἐφ' οἷς, *for what* (G. 153, N. 1). — βουλομένην ἂν (G. 226, 2). — ὅτι πλείστους (like the Latin *quam plurimos*), *as many as possible, i. e. the more the better*. See note on Chap. 2, § 6.

46. αἰρεῖσθε, &c. imperat. — οἱ δέομενοι, *you who need them*.

47. ἅμα εἰπὼν (G. 277, N. 1). — τὰ δέοντα, *the needful business*, subj. of μέλλοιτο. — Δαρδανεύς : Dardanos was a town of Troas.

II. 1. ἤρηντο, *had been elected* (plup. pass. of αἰρέω). — ὑπέφαινε, *was barely glimmering* : a common force of ὑπό in comp. is *slightly*. — πρῶτον μὲν answers to ἐπὶ τούτῳ, § 4.

2. ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, *fellow-soldiers*. — ὅποτε, *since*. — ἀνδρῶν following στερόμεθα (G. 174).

Page 9. — πρὸς δ' ἔτι, *and besides*. — οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀρ., *Ariacus and his men* (G. 141, N. 3). — οἱ . . . ὄντες (G. 276, 2), *who were our allies before*.

3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, *from these straits*. — ἀνδρας, pred. acc. referring to ἡμᾶς understood : *we must come out bravely*. — ἀλλὰ γε, *yet at least*. — πολεμίοις, dat. after ὑποχείριοι (G. 185). — οἷα τοὺς ἔχθρους, double acc. after ποιήσαν (G. 165). — ποιήσαν (G. 251, 1) ; i. e. *such things as I wish they may do to our enemies*.

4. ἐπὶ, *directly after*. — ὅστις, i. e. (*such a man*) *who*. — εἴη (G. 243). — περὶ . . . ἂν ποιήσαιτο, *would hold it of the utmost consequence* (G. 245). — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *to that effect*. — ὁμόσας, v. ὁμνυμι. — οὐδέ, *not even*. — αὐτοῖς τούτοις, *by that very means* : i. e. being on intimate terms (ὁμοτράπεζος) with Clearchus.

5. ὃν . . . ἐλάβομεν (G. 156, N.). — προβάσαι, infin. following πιστά (G. 260, 2). — καὶ οὗτος, *even he too*. — Κύρον (G. 158, N. 2). — τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους, *his worst enemies*. — ἡμᾶς, indir. obj. after ποιεῖν (G. 165, N. 1).

6. ἀποτίσαιτο, *requite* (G. 251) : ἀπο- implies the rendering what is due. — ἔτι, *any longer*. — ὥς ἂν δυνάμεθα κράτιστα, *as vigorously as we shall be able* : by an ellipsis of δύναμαι we have the common expressions ὥς κράτιστα, &c. *as vigorously as possible, &c.* — δυνάμεθα, δοκῇ (G. 232, 3).

7. ἐσταλμένος, *equipped*, v. στέλλω. — νομίζων . . . ὀρθῶς ἔχαν, *thinking it right*. — κόσμον, *ornament*, refers to his equipment. — καλλίστων (G. 178, N.). — ἐν τούτοις, *in such [equipment]*. — τελευτῆς (G. 171, 1). — λόγου, *ibid.*

Page 10. — 8. αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἵνα, *to enter into friendship with them, like διὰ δίκης εἰλθεῖν τι, to go to law with one* ; and below, διὰ παν-

τὸς πολέμον αὐτοῖς λῆναι, *to go to war with them in every way* : for αὐτοῖς, see G. 186, N. 1. — ὁρῶντας . . . πεπόνθασιν, *seeing the generals what they have suffered*, a common form of expression for *seeing what the generals, &c.* — ὧν (G. 153, N. 1) ; its antecedent would be gen. after δίκην (G. 167, 3), *punishment for what they have done* : the antecedent in such cases is (as in the English *what*) implied in the relative. — τὸ λοιπόν, adverbial, *for the future* (G. 160, 2 ; 161).

9. ἐπεὶ . . . λεγόντων, *since while we spoke, &c.* — οἰωνός, *omen* : so sneezing is still regarded by the vulgar in some countries. — εἶξασθαι, *to vow*, depending on δοκεῖ : when δοκεῖ (as here) means *it seems good to me, it pleases me*, the infin. after it belongs under G. 202 ; whereas, generally, it belongs under 203. — σπουδῇ . . . ἀφικώμεθα (G. 232, 3). — ἀνατανατά, an appeal to the citizen-soldiers : decisive measures must be taken by their vote and consent.

10. ἐμπεδούμεν, *we stand by*. — ἐπιωρκήκασι . . . λελύκασιν, i. e. *have sworn falsely to the treaty, and then have broken it*. — οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, gen. abs. : *things being so*. — κἂν, *even if*. — κἂν . . . ὧσι, *εἰταν βούλωνται* (G. 225 and 233).

11. ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς . . . κινδύνους : ἀναμνησκῶ here takes two accus. like the verbs included in G. 164 ; for its regular construction, see G. 171, 2, N. 3. — ἀγαθοῖς, pred. after εἶναι (G. 138, N. 8). — ὡς ἀφανιοῦντων (fut. of ἀφανίζω), &c. *to blot Athens (again) out of existence* (G. 277, 3, and N. 2). — ὑποστήναι, v. ὑφίστημι, *to withstand*. — ἐνίκησαν : i. e. at Marathon.

Page 11. — 12. ὅπόσους κατακάνοιεν (κατα-κάνω), representing ὅποσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν of the direct form. — ἀποθίουσιν, *they are still* (after ninety years) *fulfilling that sacrifice*. According to Herodotus, the number of Persians slain at Marathon was 6,400 ; by Xenophon's reckoning, those who perished in that invasion were at least 45,000.

13. τήν, *that* : i. e. the famous expedition. — καὶ τότε, *then too*. — ἔστι ὁρᾶν (G. 259) : ἔστι = *it is possible*. — ἀλλά, *but only*.

14. ἐρῶ (v. G. under εἶπον) *will say*. — ἀφ' οὗ, *since*. — ἐκείνων, i. e. the Persians of Xerxes's army. — ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, gen. after πολλαπλασίους (G. 175, N. 1).

15. πολὺ (adverb) belongs to ἀμείνονας, &c.

16. αὐτῶν, obj. gen. after ἀπειροί (G. 180, N. 1). — ἀμετρον, predicate ; supply ὧν (G. 280). — εἰς, *against*. — ὅτι θέλουσι depends on the idea of *knowing* implied in πείραν ἔχετε. — καὶ . . . ὄντες (G. 277, 5, and N. 1). — δέχεσθαι, i. e. *to abide our attack*.

17. μὴδέ . . . εἰ, *nor suppose that you are the worse for this, that, &c.* (G. 254). — Κύριοι, the barbarian troops of Cyrus. — ἡττωμένων, gen. of comparison (G. 175, 1) ; see Ch. I, § 2. — ἐκείνους, referring to ἡττωμένων. — ταττομένους (G. 280).

18. ἡμῖν (G. 184, 4).

Page 12. — δηχθείς, v. δάκνω. — ὅ τι ἂν γίγνηται (G. 233).

19. ἱππέων, gen. of compar. after πολὺ ἀσφαλεστέρον. — οἱ μὲν . . . ἡμεῖς δέ (G. 143, 1). — ἣν τις προσίη (G. 223). — ὅπου ἂν βουλόμεθα (G. 232, 3). — τυξόμεθα, v. τυγχάνω. — ἐνί, in one thing. — βεβηκότες, v. βαίνω. — ἡμᾶς : προίχεν usually takes the gen. (G. 175, 2) ; here the acc.

20. μάχας (G. 158, N. 2). — ὅτι . . . παρέξα, in appos. with τοῦτο, which follows. — πότερον . . . ἢ, whether . . . or. — κρείττον, sc. ἑστίν. — φανερός, evidently (G. 138, N. 7 ; 280, N. 1). — οὕς . . . ἄνδρας for τοὺς ἄνδρας οὕς (G. 154). — εἰσονται, will know, v. εἶδον. — σώματα : with nouns of different genders the article is usually repeated ; here omitted in rapid address.

21. πότερον κρείττον (sc. ἑστίν) is part of the indirect question depending on σκέψασθε in § 20. — ἥς, by assimilation for ἣν (G. 153). — ἀργύριον, gen. of price (G. 178). — μηδὲ . . . ἔχοντας, no longer having even this (i. e. ἀργύριον). — αὐτοὺς, ourselves (G. 145, 1, end). — ἥνπερ κρατῶμεν (G. 223). — ὅπως ἂν βούληται (G. 232, 3).

22. εἰ δὲ introduces three verbs. — ἄπορον (G. 138, N. 2 c). — μεγάλως . . . διαβάντες, suppose yourselves to have been greatly deceived in having crossed (G. 203 ; 277, 2). — σκέψασθε εἰ, we should say, whether they have NOT, &c. — πηγῶν (G. 182, 2). — ἣν . . . ἄσι (G. 225). — προΐουσι, to those advancing. — οὐδέ, not even.

23. διήσουσιν, v. διήμι, let us pass (G. 223, N. 1). — οὐδ' ὥς, not even so, i. e. not even under these circumstances. — Μυσούς, the Mysians, of N. W. Asia Minor, rebellious subjects of the King, and only half subdued. — The Pisidians and Lycaonians inhabited the rugged southerly part of Asia Minor. — βασιλέως ἁκοντος, gen. abs.

Page 13. — καρπούνται (middle voice), reap for themselves : the nouns which would naturally be the subjects of this verb are attracted into the preceding clauses, and made the objects of ἐπιστάμεθα and εἶδομεν. — τοῦτον, meaning the Persians, whose king has just been spoken of.

24. ἡμᾶς, emphatic. — ἂν ἔφην, I might say (unless, &c. see next section : G. 226, 2). — ὠρμημένους, after φανeroύς (G. 280, N. 1) : i. e. we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home. — ὥς . . . οἰκήσου-  
τας, as intending to settle hereabouts. — ἂν before ὁμήρους belongs to δοίη understood (G. 212, 3). — τοῦ . . . ἐκπέμψαν, gen. depending on ὁμήρους, hostages for sending, &c. : for the fut. infin. see G. 202, 3. — καὶ εἰ, even if. — ἂν . . . ἐποία, he would be thrice-glad to do this (G. 222). — μένειν παρασκευαζομένους, preparing (not prepared) to remain.

25. ἀλλὰ γάρ, but [we will not do this] for, &c. — δέδοικα, v. δέδοω (perf. with pres. signification), I am afraid. — ἀργοί (G. 138, N. 8). — ἤν, v. ἴω (G. 123, N. 2). — καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας, fair and tall, the Greek notion of female beauty. — γυναιξί, dat. after ὁμλεῖν (G. 186). — μή before ὥσπερ is a repetition of μή after δέδοικα. — λωτοφάγοι, lotus-



*eaters*, see Odyss. IX, 94, sqq.: having tasted of this sweet tropical plant, the companions of Odysseus lost all care for home.

26. ἐπιδείξαι, v. ἐπιδείκνυμι, *show*. — ἐξόν, *while it is in their power* (G. 278, 2). — τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας, *those who live poor at home*: obj. of ὄραν. — κομισαμένους (refers to the Greeks), *if they shall bring them* (τοὺς ἀκλήρους) *hither* (G. 226, 1): it would regularly take the case of αὐτοῖς. — ἀλλὰ γάρ, *but* [enough:] *for*, &c.; often simply *but*. — τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί, *belongs to the strongest* (G. 169, 1).

27. πῶς ἂν belongs to both πορευοίμεθα and μαχοίμεθα. — See note on δοκεῖ in § 9. — ἡμῶν, following στρατηγῇ (G. 171, 3), *that our campaign may not be directed by the cattle*. — ἔπειτα, *besides*. — εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, &c. (G. 262, 1).

28. ἀπαλλάξωμεν, *let us abandon* (G. 253). — κρατουμένων, gen. of possess. after πάντα. — ἀλλότρια, *forfeit, or lost*.

Page 14. — νομίζην, *consider as*, followed by two accus. (G. 166).

29. λοιπόν (λείπω), *it remains* (sc. ἐστίν). — ἐξεργεῖν, v. ἐκφέρω. — οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, *not . . . until* (G. 240). — ὄντων . . . ἀρχόντων, i. e. *while we had our officers*. — ἀπολίσθαι ἂν, *that we should be ruined* (= ἀπολοίμεθα ἂν, G. 211).

30. τῶν πρόσθεν (gen. of compar.), *than those before*. — τοὺς . . . τοὺς νῦν, see G. 142, 2, N. 4; observe the emphasis given by the position of τοὺς and τῶν.

31. ἢν . . . ἢν, *in case . . . if* (the latter should be translated first). — ἡμῶν (part. gen. with τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, acc. subj. of κολάζειν), *whoever of you may be at hand*. — ἀεὶ, *at any time*. — ἐψευσμένοι, v. ψεύδω. — οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας, *who will suffer no man to be a coward*. For the case of κακῶ, see G. 138, N. 8.

32. ὁ ἰδιώτης, just our phrase, *the private*.

33. οἷς (G. 153). — αὐτίκα, *presently*. — εἶρηκε, v. εἶπον.

34. προσδεῖν, *is needed besides*. — ὅπου, [to a place] *where*.

35. εἰ οἱ πολέμοι: the εἰ is repeated after the parenthetical clause; εἰ . . . ἐπακολουθοῖεν is the protasis to οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι (G. 224).

Page 15. — ἡμῖν, after ἐπακολουθοῖεν, *follow close upon us* (G. 187).

36. πλαίσιον, probably, a hollow square, with a front (τὰ πρόσθεν), two sides or flanks (πλευραί), and a rear (τὰ ὀπισθεν): within this the baggage and the camp-followers (ὄχλος) were to be placed. — ὀπλων, i. e. the ὀπλίται, or heavy infantry. — εἰ . . . πλαίσιον, *if then it should be settled at once who is to lead the square*: ἀποδειχθεῖν, v. ἀποδείκνυμι, *to show forth or manifest, hence to appoint*. — ὁπότε ἔλθοιεν (G. 232, 4). — τεταγμένοις (v. τάσσω), *already assigned*.

37. ἐχέτω, *let it be*. — ἡγοίτο and the two other optatives express an exhortation in the form of a wish (G. 251, 1). — Λακεδαιμόνιος: as the Lacedaemonians were now the first power in Greece. — τὸ νῦν εἶναι, *for the present* (G. 268, N.).

38. τὸ λοιπόν, *for the future* (G. 160, 2). — τάξεως (G. 171, 1). — ἔδοξε ταῦτα, *they voted this*: "this seemed [good to them]".

39. τὰ δεδογμένα, *what has been voted*. — ὅστις . . . ἐπιθυμῇ (like εἰ τις, &c.), G. 232, 1. — μεμνήσθω εἶναι, *be mindful that he be*: ἂν would mean *that he is*. — τῶν νικούντων ἔστι, *it belongs to the victors*. — τὰ τῶν ἡττημένων, *the possessions of the vanquished*. — καὶ εἰ τις δέ, *and even if any are*: when καὶ and δέ are thus used together, δέ is always the connective, and καὶ is merely intensive.

III. 1. τοῦτων, *these things*. — λεχθέντων, v. λέγω. — ἀνέστησαν, *rose up* (the assembly being seated). — ὅτου, v. ὅστις, governed by δέοιτο (G. 172, 1) and limited by περιτῶν, *whatever of the spare articles*: its antecedent is the obj. of μετεδίδωσαν. — ὡς, *about* (before numerals). — εἰς ἐπήκοον, *within hearing* (ἀκούω).

Page 16. — 2. διάγων (sc. χρόνον), *tarrying*. — φίλον, referring to μί.

3. ὀλεγε (imperf.), *was spokesman*. — εἰ . . . ἐῖ (G. 221). — ὡς ἀσινέστατα, *doing as little harm as [shall be] possible*. — ἢν δέ τις, *but if any one* (Tissaphernes for instance) *shall hinder* (G. 223).

4. ὑπόπτεμτος (observe the force of ὑπο-), *sent in an underhand way*. — εἴη (G. 243). — οἰκείων, *kinsmen*. — πίστεις ἔνεκα, *to secure good faith*, i. e. on the part of Mithridates.

5. τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι, *that the war should be truceless* (lit. *one in which no heralds were allowed*, i. e. implacable). — ἔστ' . . . εἰεν, *so long as they should be in the enemy's country* (G. 248, 1): the direct form of the resolution (δόγμα) being ἔστ' ἂν ᾔμην. — διέφθερον . . . στρατιώτας, *they (the Persians) kept trying to bribe the soldiers* (G. 200, N. 2). — ἀπών (G. 279, 2, N.). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

6. προεληλυθόντων, v. προέρχομαι.

7. προσήα, v. πρόσαιμι. — ὡς φίλος ἂν (G. 277, N. 2). — ψιλοῖ, *exposed*.

Page 17. — ἡ ὡς = quam ut (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — σφενδονητῶν, after ἐξυκνεῖσθαι (G. 171, 1), *they shot too short to reach the slingers*.

8. διωκτέον εἶναι (G. 281, 2). — ἐδίωκον has for subj. the antecedent of οἱ, *those who*.

9. ἐκ πολλοῦ, *with a long start*. — οὐχ οἷόν τε, *not possible* (lit. *no [such thing] as*): here τέ has no apparent force.

10. τοῦπισθεν (= τὸ ὀπισθεν), *the rear*, construed with τοξεύοντες. — διώξαν (G. 233).

11. δελης, i. e. late in the afternoon. — ἀφίκοντο, v. ἀφικνέομαι. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2).

12. μαρτυροῖ (G. 243): he said, τὸ ἔργον μαρτυρεῖ. — ἑώραν, v. ὀράω.

13. ἀληθῆ λέγετε, i. e. it was, in fact, as you say.

14. χάρις, sc. ἔστω. — βλάψαι (G. 266, 1).

15. ὅσον, sc. τοσοῦτον, *from such a distance that* (lit. *through so great*

a distance as, G. 161). — οἱ βάλλοντες, i. e. hurlers of the javelin. — πολὺ χωρίον, a long space. — ἐκ τέξου βύματος, if he had a bow-shot the start of him ; as in ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 9.

Page 18. — 16. ἡμεῖς with μάλλομεν, instead of ἡμῖν following δεῖ. — τὴν ταχίστην, as soon as possible (G. 160, 2). — ἱππέων (G. 172, N. 2). — σφενδονῶν, after διπλάσιον (G. 175, 1, N. 1).

17. διὰ τὸ σφενδονᾶν, through their hurling (G. 262, 1). — μολυβδίσιν, leaden slugs (dat. following χρῆσθαι, (G. 188, N. 2).

18. αὐτῶν, part. gen. after τίνες. — πέπνται, v. πάομαι. — τοῦτω (corresponding to τίνες), to such. — αὐτῶν, for them (i. e. the slings ; gen. of value, G. 178). — τῷ . . . ἐθέλοντι, to whoever is willing to rank as slinger. — ἀπέλειαν, exemption from the severer camp duties.

19. σκευοφόρα, i. e. mules, &c. in place of (ἀντί) the horses. — εἰς ἱππείας, for cavalry service. — τοὺς φεύγοντας, i. e. those mentioned above, in § 9.

20. ἔδοκιμάσθησαν, were accepted. — ἐπιστάθῃ, v. ἐπίστημι.

IV. 1. τῇ ἄλλῃ, the next day, an unusual expression for ὑστεραίᾳ.

2. διαβεβηκόσι, having crossed, agreeing with αὐτοῖς. — ὑποσχόμενος, v. ὑπισχνέομαι. — ἂν . . . λάβῃ (G. 247) : after the past tense εἰ λάβει would be the more common form. — παραδώσαν (G. 203, N. 2).

Page 19. — 3. δσον (like ὥς with numerals), about : lit. [as much] as. — παρήγγελλτο, v. παραγγέλλω, orders had been given. — οὗς, subj. of δώκαν. — εἶρητο, v. εἶπον. — θαρροῦσι . . . δυνάμει, to pursue boldly, as a sufficient force was to follow ; for ὥς, see G. 277, N. 2.

4. καταλήφει, plup. of καταλαμβάνω ; understand αὐτούς. — ἐξικνούντα, were within shooting distance. — οἷς, those to whom. — οἱ δέ (G. 143, 1, N. 2).

5. τοῖς βαρβάροις, on the side of the Persians (G. 184, 3). — ὅτι φοβεράτατον ὁρᾶν (G. 261, 2) : as frightful as possible to behold.

6. οὕτω πράξαντες, having fared thus, see G. 165, N. 2.

7. Λάρισσα, an old name found in many Grecian cities : the site is now called Nimroud (a few miles below Nineveh), whence some of the most interesting relics were brought by Mr. Layard. — τὸ παλαιόν, anciently. — δύο παρασάγγαι, i. e. about seven miles : the parasang was a Persian measure.

8. βασιλεὺς, i. e. Cyrus the Great. — εἶναι, v. αἰρέω. — νεφέλη, a cloud hiding the sun : i. e. an eclipse. — ἐξέλιπον, v. ἐκλείπω : understand τὴν πόλιν ; the eclipse being considered an evil omen. — ἔαλω, v. ἀλίσκομαι.

9. παρά would regularly here take the dative (G. 191, N. 1). — πλίθρον, about 100 feet.

Page 20. — 10. Μίσπιλα : these are the ruins of Nineveh, opposite Mosul ; Mespila means, probably, the district, or is a general name for ruins. Many monuments and sculptures have been brought from these ruins to the British Museum, and some to this country.

11. **ἔξ παρασάγγαι**, i. e. more than 20 miles. — **καταφυγεῖν** (G. 203; compare **ἐλαῖν**, below, G. 202). — **ἀπώλεσαν . . . ἐπὶ Παρσών**, they lost their power (i. e. were deprived of it) by the Persians.

12. **χρόνῳ**, by length of siege. — **ἰάλλω**, v. **ἄλσχομαι**.

13. **εἰς** refers to the coming of T. upon the course of their day's march. — **οὓς τε**, &c. understand **ἔχων**. — **ἔχοντος**, who had (in marriage), agreeing with **Ὀρόντα** (G. 39). — **οὓς . . . βαρβάρους**, the barbarians whom Cyrus had in his expedition. — **πρὸς**, in addition to. — **ἔδωκεν** (aor.), had given.

14. **τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ** (G. 143, 1). — **εἶχεν καταστήσας**, stationed and kept in the rear of the Greeks. — **παραγαγών**, aor. part. of **παράγω**.

15. **Σκύθαι τοξόται**: the name Scythian was given to all archers of a certain class, whether they were native Scythians or not. At Athens the policemen were called **τοξόται** or **Σκύθαι**, because the state sometimes imported Scythian slaves (who were archers) to serve as a city police. — **ἀνδρός** (G. 171, 1). — **οὐδὲ . . . ῥάδιον ἦν**, i. e. could not well miss if he tried.

16. **εἰποντο**, v. **ἔπομαι**: continued to follow. — **τῇ τότε** (G. 141, N. 3).

17. **καί**, also: i. e. there was this further advantage. — **ἄλσχοιτο** (G. 233).

Page 21. — **Κρησί**, construed with **χρήσιμα**. — **χρώμενοι** (G. 279, 2, N.). — **τοξεύειν** (G. 260, 1). — **ἀνω ἵκντες**, shooting upwards, so as to recover the arrows more easily; **μακράν**, sc. **ὁδόν** (G. 161).

18. **μείον ἔχοντες**, having the worst of it.

19. **ἔγνωσαν**, v. **γινώσκω**: found out (G. 200, N. 5). — **κέρατα**, wings. — **ὁδοῦ . . . γεφύρας**: these genitives absolute contain the reason of **ἦν . . . συγκύπτῃ** (G. 272, 2): in case of a narrow way, &c.; which they would be likely to find in the hilly and broken country they were nearing. — **ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας** (G. 261, 1, N.): this clause is subj. of **ἀνάγκη ἐστίν**: the hoplites wore heavy armor, and depended for their effectiveness on the steadiness of the ranks. — **πιεζομένους**, crowded together.

20. **διάσχι**, v. **διέχω**. — **τὸ μέσον**, the space between. — **εὐεπίθετον**, &c., easy for the enemy to attack. — **πολεμίους** (G. 185).

21. **ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας**, of a hundred men each: **ἀνά**, means at the rate of. — **ἄλλους**: the **λόχος** had its divisions of fifty and twenty-five, each with its special officer. — **ἔωθεν**, apart from, i. e. behind.

22. **ἀνεξέπιμπλασαν**, they filled the space left open. — **τὸ διεχόν**, the interval. — **κατὰ λόχους**, by companies in single file, i. e. six abreast in all, there being six **λόχοι**. — **κατὰ πεντηκοστὴς** and **κατ' ἐνωμοτίας**, i. e. twelve abreast and twenty-four abreast; as there were twelve divisions of fifty and twenty-four divisions of twenty-five.

Page 22. — 23. **ἐν τῷ μέρῳ**, each in turn. — **φάλαγγος**, dep. on **πou**: if there was need at any part of the column. — **τέτταρας**, i. e. four days' marches without adventure.

24. βασιλείῳ τι, a royal building or estate on the distant slope. — δαίμονι, gladly.

25. ὡς . . . ἀναβαίνειν, so as to ascend the next (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐπὶ μαστιγῶν, under the lash, i. e. scourged to it as slaves.

26. Ἑλλήνων; construe as adj. — γυμνήτων (G. 175, 2). — ὄχλῳ, the crowd, as distinct from the men in the ranks.

27. σχόλῳ, slowly. — ὄντες, because they were (G. 277, 2).

28. ταῦτά = τὰ αὐτά, the same. — πρὶν ἀνήγαγον, until they brought up. — τὸ ὄρος, i. e. the higher hill (§ 24), from which the smaller hills descended (καθῆκον).

29. ὑπέρ, above. — πολέμιον: the first πολέμοι refer to the Persians, the second πολέμοι to the Greeks. — δεδοικότες, v. δέω. — ἀποτμηθεῖσαν, v. ἀποτέμνω: the ending -εῖαν is more common.

30. τῇ ὁδῷ . . . γηλόφους, i. e. by the road which led over the hillocks, as opposed to the course of the πελτασταί along the slope of the higher hill (κατὰ τὸ ὄρος).

Page 23. — ἐπιπαριόντες, passing along, over against them. — τὰς κάμας, v. § 24. — λατρούς, nurses. — τετραμένοι, v. τιτρώσκω.

31. καὶ ἅμα, and at the same time, sc. because. — συμβεβλημένας, v. συμβάλλω. — συνενηγεμένα, v. συμφέρω. — τῷ σατραπείοντι, by the acting satrap, or royal governor (G. 188, 3).

33. πολὺ διάφορον, i. e. they found it quite different. — χώρας, position. — πολεμίοις (G. 184, 2).

34. Ἑλληνικοῦ, from the Greek force (following ἀπ-, G. 193). — σταδίων, gen. of compar. after μέιον.

35. αὐτοῖς (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — πεποδισμένοι, hobbled, their feet being tied together by a short cord. — τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα (G. 262, 2). — θορύβου ὄντος, temporal, like νύκτωρ (G. 277, 1).

36. διαγγελλομένους, passing the word of command. — ἐκήρυξε, sc. the herald. — ἀκουόντων, i. e. within hearing of the enemy.

Page 24. — λύειν is used in a rare (chiefly poetic) sense = λυσιστελεῖν, to profit, to be expedient: as in English, they thought it would not pay. — αὐτοῖς and νυκτός belong to both of the following infinitives.

37. καὶ αὐτοί, themselves too (G. 145, 1). — ἀκρωνυχίαν, spur. — ὧφ' ἦν, along the base of which.

39. προσελάσας, v. προσελαύνω. — ὁ δέ (G. 143, N. 2). — ἡμῖν (G. 184, 3). — οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, there is no getting by.

40. ἔρημα, exposed. — τὰ ὀπισθεν, the rear. — ἀπελᾶ, fut. of ἀπελαύνω (G. 120, 2). — πῶς τις . . . ἀπελᾶ, how we (lit. one) shall drive the men from the hill.

41. ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, close above. — ἑαυτῶν, their own, i. e. the Greeks. — ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω, I volunteer: the ἐγὼ is more emphatic, as the imperatives μένει and πορεύω have no pronoun.

42. *Διείσθαι*, v. αἰρέω. — *δέ οἱ*: the *οἱ* is here dat. of the personal pronoun (G. 79, 1; 144, 2), following *συμπέμψαι* (G. 193); distinguish between *οἱ*, *the*, proclitic; *οἱ* (*οἱ*), *to him*, enclitic; *οἷ*, *who*, oxytone.

Page 25. — ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, *from the front*. — μακρόν, *too far*.

43. τοὺς τριακοσούς: i. e. half of the six companies of § 21. — ἐπιλέκτων, *picked men*.

44. ἀμυλλᾶσθαι, *to race*, or vie in speed.

45. διακελευομένων, agreeing with the plural implied in στρατεύματος (G. 138, N. 3). — τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, *Tissaphernes and his men*.

46. ἐπὶ and πρὸς with the accus. both mean *towards*. — τὴν λοιπὴν, sc. ὁδόν.

47. ἐξ ἴσου, *on equal footing*.

48. καὶ ὅς, *and he* (G. 151, N. 3). — ἔχων, ἔχων, *holding, wearing*. — θώρακα ἱππικόν: the horseman carried no shield, and accordingly wore a heavier breastplate. — ὑπάγειν, *to lead on slowly*. — παρίεναι, *to come up*.

49. ἀναβάς, *mounting his horse again*. — βάσιμα . . . ἄβατα, *passable . . . impassable* (i. e. for a horseman): the plural is analogous to ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, *it is impossible*, for ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν. — φθάνουσι, *anticipate*; here governing the acc. πολεμίους. — γινόμενοι (G. 279, 2).

V. 1. στραφέντες, v. στρέφω.

Page 26. — ἀγαθῶν, i. e. *supplies*.

2. ἰσκειδασμένων, v. σκεδάννυμι. — γάρ explains why they were scattered. — διαβιβαζόμεναι, i. e. while they are passing over. — κατελήφθησαν, v. καταλαμβάνω.

3. ἐννοούμενοι μὴ, *apprehending lest*. — εἰ κάοιεν, sc. the enemy (G. 248, N.). — λαμβάνοιεν (G. 244) governs ἐπιτήδεια.

4. ἐκ τῆς βοήθειας, *from helping them*: that they had gone to help is taken for granted.

5. ὁρᾶτε . . . εἶναι; *don't you see that they admit the country to be ours?* — ὑφίεντας (G. 280). — μὴ . . . χώραν, in app. with δ. — νῦν . . . κάουσιν, *they are now* (doing, by) *burning*. — ὄψονται, used as fut. of ὁράω.

6. ἐπὶ, *against*. — ἐπέρ, in defence of. — οὕκουν, *not then*: observe the difference between this and οὕκουν, *therefore*.

7. σκηνάς, *encampment* (in the village). — ἐνθεν μὲν . . . ἐνθεν δέ, *on the one hand . . . on the other hand*. — ὁ πόντος, i. e. the Tigris. — βάθος, acc. of specification (G. 160, 1). — ὥς μηδέ . . . βάθους, *so that not even the spears projected of those who tried the depth*, i. e. their spears found no bottom (G. 184, 3; 266, N. 1).

Page 27. — 8. κατὰ τετρακισχιλούς, *four thousand at once*. — ἂν δέομαι, *what I require* (G. 172).

9. ἀσκῶν: bags of inflated hide are still used in crossing these rivers. — ἀποδαρέντα, v. ἀποδέρω. — φυσθηέντα refers to the hides implied in ἀ ἀποδαρέντα. — παρέχοι ἂν (G. 226, 2).

10. *δεσμῶν, girls.* — *ὀρμίσας, mooring.* — *ἀφείε, v. ἀφίημι : letting them down.* — *ἀμφότερωθεν δέσας, fastening to the two banks, as pontoons, or supports to a floating bridge.*

11. *εἰσεσθε, v. οἶδα, you shall know.* — *ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι, will keep from sinking* (G. 263, 1) : for the use of *μὴ*, see G. 283, 6.

12. *οἱ καλύσοντες (fut.), men ready to prevent it.*

13. *ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, &c., i. e. they made a day's march backward to some villages which had not been burnt by the enemy* (see § 3). — *ἡ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, or towards Babylon :* these words seem to have been originally a marginal note explaining *εἰς τοῦμπαλιν : τοῦμπαλιν ἡ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα* would mean, *in a direction opposite to that of Babylon*, which is hardly possible under the circumstances described in § 15. — *κατακαύσαντες ἐνθεν, for they had burned [those] from which, &c.* — *ὁμοιοί ἦσαν θαυμάζεν, were like to wonder, i. e. seemed amazed.*

14. *ἐλωκότας, v. ἀλίσκομαι.* — *ἤλεγχον . . . χώραν, they examined them as to the whole region on every side* (G. 160, 1).

15. *τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη, was on the way towards B.* — *ἤκοιεν* (G. 247). — *θερίζαν, ἐαρίζαν, in reverse order : the King spent the spring at Susa, and the summer at Ecbatana.* — *διαβάντι, after crossing* (sc. *τινί*, G. 184, 5). — *Καρδούχους, the people called Kurds, Armenian Kordukh ; the termination -χοι (acc. to Kiepert, quoted by Hertlein) corresponding with the plural ending -ΥΚΗ : the region is Kurdistan.*

16. *βασιλέως* (G. 171, 2).

Page 28. — *ἀκούειν, listen to or obey.* — *ἀλλὰ . . . ἀπονοστήσαι, i. e. once a royal army invaded them, but none of them returned* (G. 203). — *σπείσαιντο, v. σπένδομαι.* — *σφῶν, ἐκείνων, part. gen.* (G. 168, N. 2).

17. *ἐκασταχόσε εἰδέναι, that they knew the way in every direction.* — *τούτους, governed by διελθόντας.* — *ἔφασαν, they (the captives) said.* — *ἤξεν, they (the Greeks) would come.* — *εὐπορον . . . πορεύεσθαι : the direct discourse would be, εὐπορόν ἐστιν ὅποι ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ πορεύεσθαι, it is easy to go whithersoever we shall wish* (G. 223), the apodosis being future in sense.

18. *ὥρας, gen. after ἥνικα, at whatever hour.* — *τὴν ὑπερβολήν, the pass : this is called the acc. of anticipation ; regularly it would be, they feared lest the mountain-pass should be seized beforehand.* — *ἥνικ' ἂν . . . παραγυῶλλῃ* might have been changed to the optative (omitting *ἂν*), as *ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιν* is changed from *ἐπειδὴν δειπνήσητε*.

BOOK 4. — CHAP. I. 1. *ὅσα ἐπολεμήθη . . . Ἕλληνας* represents the active constr. *ὅσα ἐπολεμήσαν* (G. 159, N. 2) ; it means *to what extent war was made upon the Greeks.*

2. *ἐνθα, understand ἐκεῖσε, thither.* — *πάροδος, way along the river.* — *ἐκρέματο, v. κρεμάννυμι.* — *πορευτέον* (G. 281, 2). This section is a recapitulation of what has been stated in the last chapter.

Page 29 — 3. ἀλυσκομένων (G. 171, 2, N. 1), *the captives taken along the way*. — εἰ διελθοῖεν has for its apodosis the whole sentence ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ . . . περιίασι; including two subordinate protases: it represents ἂν διελθωμεν of the direct discourse; and the four following verbs might, like it, have been changed to the opt. (G. 247). — περιίασι, *will pass*: the pres. of εἶμι often has a fut. meaning (G. 200, N. 3). — ἔλγετο: the subject is τὰς πηγὰς εἶναι. — ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον, *it is just so*.

5. τὴν τελευταίαν φυλάκην: the Greeks divided the night into three watches. — ὅσον . . . διελθεῖν, *enough to cross in the dark*; ὅσον (sc. τοσοῦτον) takes the infinitive from the idea of *sufficiency* which it implies. — παραγγέλσας, *the word of command* passed round, not by signal of trumpet.

6. μή, *lest*, after κίνδυνος. — πορευομένων, *as they went*, gen. abs. — ἐπίσκοπο, v. ἐφέπομαι.

7. αἰσθῆσθαι, v. αἰσθάνομαι: infin. after πρὶν (G. 274); its subj. is τινά. — αἰ qualifies ἐφέπετο. — τὸ ὑπερβάλλον: i. e. each detachment followed, as it crossed the height.

8. εἰ πως, *in case the K. should be willing, &c.* (G. 226, N.; 248, 2). — διείναι, v. διήμι. — διὰ . . . χώρας, *through the region as a friendly one* (G. 142, 3).

9. ὅτε, v. ὅστις: *whatever*. — καλούντων (G. 171, 2), *when they called*.

Page 30. — 10. διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι (G. 262, 1). — ἡμέραν (G. 161). — κατέτρωσαν, v. κατατιτρώσκω. — ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου, like the Latin *ex improviso*. — ἐπέπεσε, v. ἐπιπίπτω.

11. πλείους is nom. (G. 72, 2). — ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρήναι, *would have risked perishing*. — συνεώρων (v. συνωράω), *watched each other's signals*.

12. ἀφεῖναι, *let go*: v. ἀφήμι.

13. ἐποίουν the subj. is ὑποζύγια, &c. — ἐπὶ, *in charge of*. — δόξαν, *having resolved*, acc. abs. (G. 278, 2), is governed by ποιεῖν understood.

14. ὑποστάντες, v. ὑφίστημι; *halting*. — εἰ τι, *translate whatever*. — τῶν εἰρημένων, *of the things ordered* [to be abandoned], or simply, *of the things above mentioned* (see § 12). — οἱ δέ, *and they* (the soldiers). — πλὴν . . . ἔκλεψεν, *unless one smuggled anything*. — οἷον, *such as*. — τῶν εὐπρεπῶν is partitive genitive. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, *sometimes . . . sometimes*.

16. ἀναχάζοντες and θαμνὰ are both poetic words.

Page 31. — παρήγγελλεν ὑπομένειν, *would send word* [for those in front] *to wait*.

17. ὅτε παρεγγυῆτο, *whenever the word was passed*. — πρᾶγμα τι, *some trouble ahead*. — παρελθόντι, i. e. to Xenophon.

19. ὥσπερ εἶχεν, *just as he was* (in haste). — τέθνατον, *are dead*; v. θνήσκω. — ἀνελίσθαι, v. ἀναίρῶ: *to take up for burial*, a most sacred duty with the Greeks. The last sentence is in the *direct discourse*.



20. μία αὕτη ὁδός is subj., and ὁρθία pred.: *this one way which you see is steep*, &c. — ἐκβασιν, *way out*. — δχλον οἱ (G. 151, N. 2).

21. ταῦτ' ἐσπευδον (G. 158, N. 2). — εἰ πως δυναίμην, *in case I should be able* (G. 226, N.; 248, 2). — οὐ . . . ὁδόν, *say there is no other way*: οὐ φημι is used like the Latin *nego*.

22. ὄπερ, i. e. the ambush. — αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα, *for this very purpose*. — εἰδότες, *acquainted with*: v. οἶδα.

23. εἰ εἰδείην, *whether they knew* (the direct question was ἴστε, G. 243). — οὐκ ἔφη, see note on § 21. — φόβων, *threats*.

Page 32. — κατασφάγη, v. κατασφάττω.

24. ἐτύγχανε . . . ἐκδεδομένη, i. e. he happened to have a married daughter there. — αὐτός emphasizes the subj. of ἡγήσεσθαι: *he said he would himself lead* (G. 138, N. 2). — ὁδόν, acc. of extent (G. 161).

25. δ, obj. of προκαταλήψοιτο: *and unless they (τις) should occupy this* (G. 202, 4; 223, N. 1; 247).

26. πελταστὰς is in app. with, and ὁπλιτῶν limits, λοχαγοῖς. — ἐποστὰς ἐθελοντής, *standing forth as a volunteer*.

28. ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ τις . . . θέλωι (G. 200, N. 1; 201). — πολλοῖς, gen. of value.

II. 1. οἱ δέ, i. e. Xenophon and Chirisophus. — ἐμφαγόντας (v. ἐσθίω), *when they had eaten*. — συντίθενται, *agree with them*. — τὸ ἄκρον, see Ch. 1. § 21. — τοὺς μὲν, αὐτοὶ δέ, i. e. the volunteers and the officers. — ἀνω ὄντας, *when they are above*.

2. ὕδωρ, &c. *rain*. — ὅπως . . . τὸν νοῦν, *that the enemy might have their attention turned to that road*. — ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν, *might be, as far as possible, unseen*.

Page 33. — 3. ἣν εἶδει . . . ἐκβαίνειν, *which they must cross before getting to the ascent*. — καὶ μείζους, &c. as we say, *more or less*. — διεσφενδονῶντο, *bounded off* (as if hurled from slings).

4. εἰ μὴ δύναιτο, *if they could not get by* (G. 225). — κυλινδούμεντες (G. 279, 1).

5. ὡς . . . κατέχοντες, *supposing they held the summit*.

6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατέχον, i. e. they were wrong in thinking that they were on the summit: οἱ δέ is irregular, referring to the subj. of the preceding verb (see also G. 143, 1, N. 2). — μάστος, *a round hill*. — αὕτη, inserted as antecedent to ἧ (G. 142, 4, end). — ἀπτόθεν, *from that spot* (where they were).

7. ὀλίγοι, *but few*. — προσελθόντες (G. 279, 2).

Page 34. — 9. ἥπερ . . . ἔχοντες, *the same way with those who had the guide*.

10. ἢ διεξεῦχθαι (v. διαξεύγνυμι), *or else be separated*. — ἐπορεύθησαν ἂν, i. e. *they would have gone, had it not been for what is stated in the next*

clause (G. 226, 1). — *ὑποζύγια*, subj. of *ἐκβῆναι*, *there was no other way for the beasts to get through*.

11. *ὁρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις*, *with the companies in file, or column*; "the whole array covering a great length of ground, since the road was very narrow." — *εἰ βούλονται* (G. 226, N.).

12. *τέως μὲν*, *for some time*. — *ἔδυναντο* (G. 135, 3). — *προσίεντο*, *admit*: i. e. they did not let the Greeks get near them, but fled. — *παρελλύθεσαν*, v. *παρέρχομαι*.

13. *ἐννοήσας μὴ*, *taking counsel lest*. — *ἔρημον*, *exposed*. — *ἡλωκότα*, v. *ἀλλίσκομαι*. — *καὶ πάλιν . . . παριοῦσιν*, *the enemy would yet again take it and attack the teams as they passed*. — *ἐπιθοῖντο* for *ἐπιθίοντο* (v. *ἐπιτίθωμι*). Such forms of the 2 aor. opt. mid. sometimes occur in Attic Greek, following the analogy of verbs in *ω*. For similar forms of *προίημι*, see G. 129, III. — *ἐπὶ πολὺ . . . πορευόμενα*, *the cattle stretched out a good way, as they were travelling in a narrow road*: *ἄτε* with part. is like *quippe* in Latin with relative.

14. *ὁ ὑπὲρ . . . ἑθελοντῶν*, *the one above the guard that had been surprised at the fire in the night by the volunteers*.

15. *δείσαντας μὴ πολιορκιοῖντο*, *for fear of being surrounded*. — *αὐτοῖς*, the barbarians. — *ἀπολιπεῖν* (G. 203). — *ἄρα*, i. e. as it proved.

Page 35. — 16. *ὑπάγειν*, *advance slowly*. — *θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα*, lit. *ground their arms*, i. e. halt or take up a position.

17. *ἀλλόμενοι*, *by leaping*.

18. *ἀπῆται*, *claimed back*, see Ch. I. § 19.

19. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, *on condition that* (G. 267). — *ἐν ᾧ*, *while*. — *συνερρήσαν*, v. *συρρώ* (*ρέω*).

20. *ἤρξαντο*: i. e. the Greeks. — *ἐνθα . . . ἔκατο*, *where the armed force was stationed*; see § 16. — *κατέαξαν*, v. *κατάγνυμι*: *broke*. — *ἔχων*, *holding, or carrying*; i. e. he *disappeared* with it.

21. *Λουσιεύς*, from Lusi in Arcadia. — *προσέδραμεν*, v. *προστρέχω*. — *προβεβλημένος*, v. *προβάλλω*: *holding out [his shield] in front of both* (G. 199, 3).

22. *αὐτοῦ*, *there*. — *ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς*, *in plastered (or cemented) cisterns*. Such reservoirs, cisterns, or "cellars, with a circular mouth like a large well, increasing in size to the bottom (i. e. in shape a truncated cone), are still seen in great numbers in Piræus." Boise, from Sturz. A scholiast on Aristophanes says, "The Athenians and other Greeks make large excavations underground, round or square, cement them, and keep wine and oil in them: these they call *λάκκοι*."

23. *διεπράξαντο*, *managed, or bargained*. — *ἡγεμόνα*, see Ch. I. § 24. — *νομίζεται*: the word *νόμος* "includes all that is enjoined by law, custom, or the general sentiment, and all that is voluntarily accepted in reliance on these." J. S. Mill, *Diss.* Vol. IV. p. 302, N.

Page 36. — 24. ἐκάλουν, *tried to hinder the passage* (G. 200, π. 2).

25. τοῖς πρότοις (G. 184, 3). — ἀνωτέρω, construed with γίγνεσθαι: *trying to get above those hindering*.

27. ἦν ὅποτε, *there were [times] when* (G. 152, π. 2). — πράγματα, *difficulty*. — φεύγοντες, *fleeing*; ἀποφεύγαν, *to escape*.

28. τόξα, probably *long-bows*, which were drawn by bringing one end to (or near) the ground and *advancing the left foot* (προβαλόντες) *towards that end* (πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου). Strabo (p. 772) tells of Aethiopian elephant-hunts, in which three men used one bow, τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποσὶ, τοῦ δ' ἄκοντος τὴν νευράν, *two of them holding the bow, with their feet advanced* (i. e. each with one foot advanced to steady himself), *and the third drawing the string*. Arrian (Ind. 16) speaks of bows which the Indians drew by bringing them to the ground and *bracing themselves* (ἀντιβάντες) *with the left foot*. In the passage of the Anabasis, there is very slight MS. authority for the common reading *προσβαλόντες*. — ἀκοντίοις, in appos. with αὐτοῖς (G. 137, π. 4): the arrows, a yard long, were picked up and used as darts, being fitted with an ἀγκύλη, a loop or strap, fastened at the middle, as a guide in grasping and help in hurling.

III. 1. ἡλίσθησαν, v. αἰλίσσμαι: the word originally means *to pass the night* (or live) *in an open court* (αἶλή). — ἄσμενοι, *gladly*. — τῶν Καρδούχων belongs to ὁρέων, as adjective or limiting genitive.

2. πολλά, used as an adv. qualifying *μνημονεύοντες*, *talking over, recounting*. — ἔπαθον, v. πάσχω.

Page 37. — κακὰ . . . σύμπαντα, *evils [so many] as they did not [suffer], even all put together*, &c. — ὥς (G. 277, π. 2). — ἀπηλλαγμένοι, v. ἀπαλλάττω.

3. που, *somewhere* (indefinite). — ἰππέων, following ἀνὰ (G. 182, 2). — δχθαις, *bluffs*.

5. ὥσπερ χειροποίητος (sc. οὔσα), [appearing] *as if it had been built*.

6. ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν, *above their breasts*. — οὐτ' corresponds with τί after ἐπὶ. — εἰ δὲ μή: the μή seems superfluous; but the phrase (as usual) means simply *otherwise*, i. e. if any of them did attempt to carry their arms through the river. — γυμνοί, *exposed*: plur. since τις is collective.

7. ἐνθα, *where*. — συναλεγμένους, v. συλλέγω. — Ἕλλησιν (G. 184, 4).

8. περιρρυῆναι, v. περιρρέω: *to fall away*: for αὐτῶν see G. 184, 3.

Page 38. — 9. ὥς τάχιστα, *as soon as*. — ἔως, *dawn*. — ἐπὶ τοῦ πρότου, *with the first [victim]*.

10. ᾔδεσαν, v. οἶδα, *knew*. The direct discourse of the following sentence would be: ἔξιπιν . . . προσελθεῖν, καὶ ἂν καθεύδῃ . . . εἰπεῖν, ἂν . . . ἔχη (G. 225). — αὐτῷ, following προσελθεῖν (G. 187). — ἐπεγεύραντα εἰπεῖν, *to wake him and tell*. — ἔχοι, sc. εἰπεῖν.

11. καὶ τότε, *and this time*. — συλλέγοντες (G. 279, 2). — ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν

ποταμόν, *close to the river* (G. 142, 4, N. 2). — ἄσπερ, &c., *apparently putting away bags of clothes*.

12. ὡς νευρόμενοι (G. 277, N. 2). — διαβαίνειν (G. 203, N. 1). — πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, *they crossed before wetting their middle*.

13. καὶ . . . ἐκέλευε, *gave orders to pour out [wine] for the young men*. — φήνασι, v. φαίνω (G. 97). — ὄνειρατα (see § 8): the plural seems to indicate the several points of the dream. — ἐπιτελέσαι, depending on εὐχεσθαι: *pray them to fulfil*. — σπείσας, v. σπένδω. — ταῦτά, *the same story*.

14. σπονδίας, *libations*. — ὥπως ἂν διαβαίην, *indirect question, representing πῶς ἂν διαβαίμην*; (G. 245).

Page 39. — 16. σταδίοι, in appos. with ὁδός, instead of genitive.

17. ἀντιπαρήσαν, v. -αῖμι: *went along over against them*, i. e. on the other bank. — ἔθεντο . . . παρήγγαλλε: "I conceive the matter thus: first, the order is given to ground arms, so that the shield is let down and drops upon the ground, sustained by the left hand of the soldier upon its upper rim; while the spear, also resting on the ground, is sustained by the shield and by the same left hand. The right hand of the soldier being thus free, he is ordered, first, to wreath himself (the costume usual in offering sacrifice); next, to take off his wreath; lastly, to resume his arms. Probably the operations of wreathing and unwreathing must here have been performed by the soldiers symbolically, or by gesture, raising the hand to the head, as if to crown it. . . . Cheirisophus himself, however, had doubtless a real wreath, which he put on and took off; so probably had the prophets and certain select officiating persons." Grote. ἀποδύς may, however, be rendered like ἐκδύντες (§ 12), *stripping off* the upper garment. To wear the wreath, on solemn occasions, was a Spartan custom. — ὀρθίους, *in [double] file* (see Ch. II. § 11).

18. εἰς τὸν ποταμόν, i. e. so that the blood ran into the river.

19. ἀνῆλάλαζον, *shouted ALALA*: the ὀλολυγή was a cry or chant, of higher pitch, uttered by women on glad occasions.

20. ἀνὰ κράτος, *at speed*. — προσποιούμενος, *feigning*: he "made a feint of hastening back to the original ford, as if he were about to attempt a passage there. This distracted the attention of the enemy's horse [on the opposite bank], who became afraid of being attacked on both sides, galloped off to guard the passage at the other point, and opposed no serious resistance to Cheirisophus." Grote.

21. ἔτανον, *pushed on*.

22. ἔβῳν μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, *they called to them [exhorting them] not to be left behind*. — συνεβαίνειν, σύν governs τοῖς πολεμοῖς understood.

23. κατὰ . . . ποταμόν, *along the bluffs which reached to the river*.

Page 40. — σφίσιν (G. 144, 2).

24. καταβαίνοντες (G. 280, N. 1).

26. ἀκρὴν διέβαινε, *were just crossing*. — παρ' ἀσπίδας, *to the left*. — ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, *so as to form a phalanx, or close column*. — οὐραγούς, *rear-guard*.

27. τοῦ ὄχλου φιλουμένους (G. 174): *left by the crowd [of camp-followers, &c.]*.

28. ἰδὼν . . . διαβαίνοντας, *when X. saw them [on the point of] crossing [to come to aid him]*. — αὐτοί, *i. e. Xenophon and his men*. — ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφῶν, *on both sides of them*. — διηγκυλωμένους, ἐπιβεβλημένους, *hand on the thong (ἀγκύλη), arrow on the string*. — πρὸς τὸ ποταμὸν, *far into the river* (G. 168).

29. ψοφῆ, *ring with the thump of the stone*.

Page 41. — σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν, *signal the charge*. — ἐπὶ δόρῳ, *to the right* (see § 26). — ὥς, *so as* (G. 266, N. 1). — ἔσονται . . . γίνηται (G. 247, N. 1).

30. ὑποζυγίων, *dep. on ἐπιμελησόμενοι* (G. 171, 2). — ἤρχοντο, *began*.

31. ὥς . . . ἱκανῶς, *well enough, considering it was among the mountains*.

32. θάττον, *v. τάχως*. — τάναντία (*adv. acc.*), *the opposite way*.

33. αἰσθόμενοι, *perceiving [that the Greeks were crossing]*. — ἔδραμον, *v. τρέχω*. — ἔτρωσαν, *v. τιτρώσκω*. — καὶ . . . Ἑλλήνων, *even when the Greeks had got across*.

34. οἱ ὑπαντήσαντες, *those who had come to the relief*: see §§ 27, 28. — προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, *further than was safe*.

IV. πεδίον, γηλόφους, *acc. of extent, dep. on ἐπορεύθησαν*.

2. ἦν κώμην, *for ἡ κώμη εἰς ἣν, &c.* (G. 154, N.).

3. ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς, &c.: *here they crossed the mountain-range of the Taurus; the Teleboas (generally supposed to be the present Kara-du) flows into the Euphrates*. "After the river Teleboas, there seems no one point in the march which can be identified with anything approaching to certainty. Nor have we any means even of determining the general line of route, apart from specific places, which they followed from the river Teleboas to Trebizond." Grote.

Page 42. — 4. ἀνέβαλλεν = ἀνεβίβαζεν, *lifted, or helped up*.

5. τοῖς ἀρχουσι, *with the officers* (G. 187). — εἰς ἐπήκουον, *within hearing*.

6. ἐφ' ᾧ (G. 267). — αὐτός (G. 138, N. 8).

8. χιὼν πολλή: *this was in lat. 39°, and at an elevation of four thousand feet; it was now near the end of November*. — ἔωθεν, *in the morning*. — τὰς τάξεις, *subj. of διασκηνῆσαι, quarter here and there*.

9. ἱερεῖα, *cattle for slaughter*. — τῶν ἀποσκευασμένων τινές, *certain of the stragglers*. — κατίδοιεν . . . φαίνοντο, *the direct discourse would be κατείδομεν . . . καὶ φαίνεται*.

10. ἰδόκα διαθριάζαν, *it seemed to be clearing up*.

Page 43. — 11. *ἀλεινόν* (G. 138, N. 2, c). — *ὅτε μὴ παραρρεῖη* v. *παραρρέω* (G. 233); i. e. the snow kept all warm from whom it did not drift off.

12. *ἐτόλμησε, undertook*. — *γυμνός*, i. e. without his mantle. — *ἀφελόμενος, taking away* [the axe].

13. *πικρῶν*, i. e. almonds. — *μύρον, perfume*.

14. *εἰς στέγας, under shelter*. — *δίκην ἰδύσαν, paid the penalty*. — *κακῶς σκηνοῦντες* (G. 277, 2): *by camping ill*, i. e. in the open air.

15. *Τημνίτην, of Temnos* (in Aeolis). — *πυρά, see § 9*. — *ἀληθεύσαι, to have told truly*. — *μὴ ὄντα, οὐκ ὄντα* (G. 283, 4).

16. *οὐκ ἔφη*: render *οὐκ* as qualifying *ἰδεῖν* (G. 203). — *σάγαριν, a two-edged battle-axe*. — *Ἀμαζόνες*: i. e. in pictures or statues, with which the Greeks were familiar.

17. *τό* (in appos. with *ποδαπὸς εἴη*), *the question*. — *τὸ στρατότευμα, acc.* (G. 160, 1), attracted from its natural position as subj. of *εἴη*. — *ἐπὶ τίτι, for what*.

18. *ὡς ἐπιθησόμενον* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἤνπερ μοναχῇ, where only*.

Page 44. — 19. *ἡγεμόνα* (G. 137, N. 4), *as guide*. — *ἀλόντα, v. ἀλίσκομαι*.

20. *τὸ στρατόπεδον, the [enemy's] camp*.

V. 1. *δπη . . . τάχιστα, as quickly as possible*.

2. *Ἐυφράτην, "that is, the eastern branch, now called Murad."*

3. *τρίτος, sc. σταθμός*. — *ἀποκάων, blasting* (here of cold).

4. *εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι, told them to sacrifice*: the infin. after *εἶπον* follows the principle of G. 202, *εἶπον* having the force of a verb of commanding. On the other hand, *ἔφη σφαγ-* would mean *he said that he had sacrificed* (G. 202; 260, 2, N. 1). — *σφαγάζεται, sc. ὁ μάντις*. — *λήξαι* stands in indir. discourse after *ἔδοξε* (G. 203).

Page 45. — 5. *διεγόνοντο κόντες, continued burning*. — *ξύλα πολλά*: the woods have since been quite stripped from these highlands, so that dried cattle-dung is the ordinary fuel. — *οὐ προσέειπεν, did not admit*. — *μεταδοῖεν* (G. 225). — *ἄλλο τι εἴ τι, whatever else*.

6. *ἔστε ἐπὶ, clear down to*. — *οὐ παρῆν, where it was handy*.

7. *ἐβουλίμασαν* (G. 106): *bulimῶ* ("ox-famine") was a disease in which the patient suffered from ravenous hunger, *hunger-faintness*.

8. *φάγωσιν, v. ἐσθίω*. — *διεδίδου, distributed*. — *δίδοντας, as givers*; the fut. part. would be more usual.

9. *ἐκ τῆς κώμης, connect with γυναῖκας, women from the village*. — *ἐρύματος*: i. e. the village fountain was outside the wall.

10. *πορεύονται . . . εἴη . . . ἀπέχει*: these might all be opt. or all indic. (G. 243), and there is good MS. authority here for both *πορεύονται* and *ἀπέχει*.

11. διατελλόμεναι τὴν ὁδόν, *continue the march* [so far as the village].

Page 46. — 12. διαφθαρμένοι . . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, *with their eyes blinded by the snow*: the acc. is retained from the (possible) active constr. διαφθεῖραν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς αὐτοῖς, *to blind their eyes for them* (G. 197, 1, N. 2); τοὺς δακτύλους is in the same constr. after ἀποσιωπητότες, which is passive in sense.

13. τῆς χιώνος, *against the snow* (obj. gen.). — πορεύετο (G. 225, N. 1); there is good authority here for the more regular πορεύοιτο. — εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολόιτο, *took off his shoes for the night*; opposed to ὑποδεμένοι, *with their shoes on*: δέω, *bind*, and λύω, *loose*, refer to the sandal-thongs.

14. πόδας, *understand τούτων*, as anteceded. of ὅσοι. — καρβάνια, *brogues, or moccasins*. — βοῶν; the mention of the animal instead of his hide is by the usage called metonymy.

15. τετῆκα (G. 101, 2, N. 2). — ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπη, *steaming in a dell*: a warm spring was discovered hereabouts in 1843. — ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπέμενοι, *turning aside hither*. — οὐκ ἔφασαν, *refused*.

16. ὀπισθοφύλακας (without the art.), *some of the rear-guard*. — τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαιναν, *finally got angry*. "So greatly was the army disorganized by wretchedness, that we hear of one case in which a soldier, ordered to carry a disabled comrade, disobeyed the order, and was about to bury him alive." Grote. This story came out afterwards, when the charge was made against Xenophon that he had flogged his men (Book 5, VIII, 8-11), which he did in this one instance. — δύνασθαι ἄν, sc. ἔφασαν (G. 211).

17. φοβήσαι, *to frighten*. — ἀμφὶ . . . διαφερόμενοι, *quarrelling about what they had*, i. e. their booty (G. 153, N. 1).

18. ὅτε ὑγαίνοντες, *as they were in good condition*. — ἀνακραγόντες, v. ἀνακράζω. — μέγιστον (G. 159, N. 2). — ἤκαν αὐτοῦς, *threw themselves*, i. e. they rushed down into the dell over the snow-banks.

Page 47. — 19. ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, *to their relief*. — ἐγκεκαλυμμένοι, *wrapped up*. — καθιστήκει, *had been set*. — ἀνίστασαν (G. 200, N. 2).

20. ὄλον, i. e. of the main body: Chirisophus had gone on in advance (see above, § 9).

21. ἀναστήσαντας . . . προΐναι, *he ordered them* (i. e. τοὺς νεωτάτους) *to rouse* [the disabled] *and compel them to advance*.

22. τῶν (G. 170, 1); σκεφομένους agrees with the acc. (some) supposed to be limited by τῶν: *sends some of those, &c. to see*. — οἱ δέ, i. e. those who had the sick in charge. — κομίζαν (G. 161, 2, N.), *to carry*: in Latin it would be portandos. — διεληλυθῆναι (G. 202, 2).

23. διαλαχόντες, *assigning by lot*.

24. εἰλήχει, v. λαγχάνω. — ἑπτακαίδεκα: the number was apparently much greater (see § 35); possibly, says Krüger, the number written was Σ' (200), afterwards altered to ΙΖ' (17). — ἐνάτην, i. e. eight days (G. 161, N.).

25. **κατάγαιοι**, *underground*: the description is said to correspond with the dwellings found in the Armenian highlands at the present day. "The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterranean, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in." Ainsworth, quoted by Watson. — **στόμα** (G. 160, 1).

Page 48. — **δρνίδες**, *poultry*. — **τούτων**, *of (all) these creatures*.

26. **οἶνος κρίθινος**, *beer*. — **κρατήρσιν**, *vats*, or *tubs*. — **κάλαμοι**, *reeds*, or *straws* (without joints, **γόνατα**), which, as they drank, would keep off the floating grains or hulls (**κριθαί**).

27. **ἄκρατος**, *strong*: applied to wine *unmixed* (**ἀ-κεράννυμ**). — **συμ-μαθόντι**, *to one used to it* (G. 184, 5).

28. **οὔτε στερήσοιτο . . . ἀπίασιν**, the direct discourse would be **οὔτε στερήσῃ . . . τήν τε οἰκίαν ἀντεμπλήσαντες . . . ἀπιμεν**: the form **στερήσοιτο** is middle, with passive meaning. — **ἀντεμπλήσαντες**, v. **ἀντεμπίπλημι**: *filling in recompense*. — **ἀπίασιν**, v. **ἀπιεμ**: the present of **εἰμι** has the force of a future, as in English, *I am going*. — **ἀγαθόν τι**, acc. governed by **ἐξηγησάμενος**, which follows **φαίνεται**, *if he shall appear to have given them good directions* (G. 280). — **ἔστ'**, *until* (G. 239, 2).

29. **κατορυγμένους**, v. **κατορύσσω** (see Ch. II. § 22). — **ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς**, *in sight*.

30. **ἀφίεσαν**, i. e. the people of the villages did not let them depart, until, &c. — **παραθίεν** (G. 240, 1).

31. **οὐκ . . . οὐ**, *everywhere* (G. 283, 8).

32. **τῷ (τινι)**, *to any one*. — **εἴλεν**, v. **εἴλω**, *he would draw*. — **ἐνθεν . . . βούν**, *whence he had to stoop and drink, sucking like an ox* (for **ὥσπερ βούε βοφεί**).

Page 49. — 33. **κατελάμβανον κάκεινους**, *they found them too*, i. e. Chrisophus and his men. — **σκηνοῦντας**, *banqueting*. — **ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς**, *as if deaf and dumb*; i. e. by signs, as they could not understand Greek.

34. **οἱ ἵπποι**, the breed of horses in this region is still celebrated. — **ἤ εἴη**, indirect question for **πῇ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδός**:

35. **πρὸς . . . οἰκέτας**, *to his family*. — **εἰλήφει**, *had taken* (see Book 3, III, 19). — **παλαιτερον**, *too old* for service. — **ἀναδρέψαντι**, v. **ἀνατρέφω**. — **καταθῆσαι** (G. 265). — **αὐτόν**, i. e. the horse. — **τῶν πάλων** (G. 170, 1).

VI. 1. **τῷ κωμάρχη**, *the chief*, who served as guide (see next section). — **ἡγήσοιτο**, sc. the boy's father; the thought of Xen. was: **ὥπως εἰ . . . ἡγήσεται**, . . . **ἀπίη** (G. 248, N). — **ἀπίοι**, *return*.

2. **λελυμένος**, *unbound*. — **ἦν**, *it was*.

Page 50. — **οὐκ εἶεν**, *there were none*.

3. **ἀποδράς ᾤχετο** (v. **ἀποδιδράσκω**, **οἴχομαι**), *ran off* (G. 279, 2, N.). — **διάφορον**, *cause of difference*. — **εἰρηγό**, *found him*.



4. ἀνά, *at the rate of*. — Φᾶσιν: the true Phasis flows into the Black Sea, some distance farther north; this (according to Grote "not verifiable") was probably the upper part of the Araxes, flowing into the Caspian. It seems to have taken the Greeks out of their course, towards the northeast.

5. τῇ . . . ὑπερβολῇ, *the pass leading to the plain*.

6. εἰς, *about* (like ὥς), *lit. to the number of*. — κατὰ κέρας, *in column*. — ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, *in close order for attack*.

7. ὅπως ἀγωνιούμεθα, an object. clause (G. 217): compare ὅπως γένοιτο (§ 6), which is a final clause (G. 216, 1).

9. προσγενέσθαι (following εἰκός), *will join them* (G. 203, N. 2).

10. ὅπως μαχούμεθα is in appos. with τοῦτο (G. 215, Rem.), and is the regular form of the object. clause; but ὅπως λάβωμεν . . . ἀποβάλωμεν (in appos. with τοῦτο below) is the less common form (G. 217, N. 1).

Page 51. — τοῦτο . . . εἶναι, *I think we must look to this*. — ἀποβάλωμεν, *sacrifice*.

11. ἐφ': ἐπὶ has here the sense of *in extent*. — οὐδαμοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ, *nowhere else than*: ἀλλ' ἢ for ἄλλο ἢ, *other than, except*, seems to have had but one accent, so that ἀλλ' has the appearance of the elided form of ἄλλᾳ. — ὅρους τι, *some part of the mountain*. — κλέψαι, *to surprise*: the same idea is expressed by λαθόντας. — μᾶλλον, *rather*, repeats the comparison already given in κρείττον.

12. ὀρθιον ἵνα, *to march up-hill* (G. 159). — ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, *on both sides of us*. — τραχεῖα, *sc. ὁδός*. — κεφαλᾶς (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

13. αἰσθησιν παρέχαι, i. e. *betray ourselves*. — δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν . . . ἂν . . . χρῆσθαι, *it seems to me that we should find, &c.*: ἂν belongs to χρῆσθαι (= χρώμεθα ἂν), and is repeated because the sentence is long (G. 212, 2). We translate δοκοῦμεν impersonally merely that we may render the infin. by a finite verb, and so give the force of ἂν. The protasis is in προσποιούμενοι (= εἰ προσποιούμεθα), *if we should make a feint* (G. 226, 1). — ἑρημοτέρῳ, *with fewer defenders*. — μένοιεν: ἂν is understood from the preceding sentence, although this case hardly comes under the general rule (G. 212, 4).

14. κλοπῆς, *surprise, lit. theft*. — συμβάλλομαι, *sc. λόγους*, i. e. *make more talk*. — τῶν ὁμοίων, *equal citizens, or peers*. — ἐκ παίδων, *as we say from a child*.

15. ληφθῆτε, v. λαμβάνω. — μάλα qualifies the idea of καιρός ἔστιν: *a very fit time*. — κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὅρους (G. 170, 1); cf. ὅρους κλέψαι τι (§ 11).

16. ἀλλὰ μέντοι (more emphatic than ἀλλὰ), *but now*: καὶ μέντοι, *and indeed*. — δεινοὺς κλέπται, i. e. *formidable stealers*. — δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου: the penalty of embezzlement might be death. — ὑμῖν, *among you* (G. 184, 3).

Page 52. — 17. *τούτων πυνθάνομαι*, *I learn from them* (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — *νέμεται*, *is pastured*. — *αἰεὶ* (G. 188, 1). — *βατά*, *places passable* (G. 139, 1).

18. *ἐλπίζω μενεῖν* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ἐν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ*, *on a level with them*. — *ἡμῖν . . . ἴσον* (G. 186).

19. *καί, ἀλλά*, observe the emphasis and spirit of these abrupt connectives.

20. *ἐκ τούτου*, *upon this*. — *κἀκεῖν* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ὅποτε ἔχουν* (G. 248).

21. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου*, *after breakfast*.

22. *ἐγρηγόρεσαν*, v. *ἐγείρω*. — *διὰ νυκτός*, *all night long*.

24. *τὸ πολὺ*, *the main part*. — *τοὺς πολλοὺς*, *the two main bodies*. — *ἀλλήλων*, following *ὁμοῦ* (G. 182, 2).

Page 53. — 26. *τὸ ἄνω*, *their men above*.

27. *στησάμενοι* (G. 199, N. 1).

VII. 1. *Τάοχοι*, a tribe of Georgian mountaineers, still known among their kindred as Tao : for the ending *-χοι*, see Book 3, v., 15. — *ἐν οἷς . . . ἀνακεκομισμένοι*, *where they carried and kept all their provisions*.

2. *αὐτόσε* (to avoid *εἰς δ*), *into which* (G. 156).

3. *εἰς καλόν*, *in the nick of time*. — *αἰρετόν* (G. 281, 1).

4. *οὕτω διατίθεται*, *is served thus*. — *σκέλη*, acc. after the passive *συντετριμμένους* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

5. *ἀναλώσωσιν* (v. *ἀναλίσκω*), *use up*. — *ἄλλο τι ἢ . . . παρίναι*, *is there (i. e. will there be) anything to prevent us from passing by?* *ἄλλο τι ἢ* (= *nonne*) is an interrogative implying an affirmative answer (see G. 282, 3); so that this question means, literally, *Is anything else [the case] than [this, that] nothing prevents, &c.?*

Page 54. — 6. *τρία ἡμίπλεθρα*, i. e. 150 feet. — *διαλειπούσαις*, *scattered*. — *ἀνθ' ὧν*, *behind which*. — *φερομένων*, *flying through the air*. — *δταν λωφήσωσιν* (G. 232, 3).

7. *πολλοί* (pred.), *in great numbers*. — *αὐτό*, *that very thing*. — *μικρόν τι*, *a little way*, i. e. fifty feet.

8. *καθ' ἓνα*, *one by one*.

9. *καὶ ἄλλοι δέ*, *and others besides* : in such expressions *δέ* is always the connective.

Page 55. — 12. *τῆς ἱνυος*, *the rim of his shield* (G. 171, 1, N.).

15. *εἰς χεῖρας*, *to close quarters*. — *πτερύγων*, *fringes*. — *ἐστραμμένα*, v. *στρέφω*.

16. *ὅσον ξυήλην*, *about as long as a Spartan dagger* (see G. 153, N. 5). — *μῖαν λόγχην*, i. e. only at one end : the Greek spears were sharpened

at the butt, so as to stick in the ground. — ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν . . . ἐπορεύοντο (G. 206) : the ἂν belongs grammatically to ἐπορεύοντο, but it gives a frequentative meaning to the whole sentence.

17. ἐν τοῦτοις refers to the provisions being deposited in the strong places, rather than to carrying them into these.

Page 56. — 19. διὰ . . . χώρας, through their own enemies' country. — πέμπει (G. 200, N. 1).

20. πέντε ἡμερῶν, within five days (G. 179, 1). — ἐπηγγελάτο, agreed. — Ἑλλήνων, obj. gen. after εὐνοίας, good will for the Greeks.

22. δασεῶν . . . ὀμοβόαια, made of raw hides of shaggy oxen.

23–27. “But every moment the shout became louder, as fresh men came to the summit and gave vent to their feelings; so that Xenophon grew anxious, and galloped up to the van with his handful of cavalry to see what had happened. As he approached, the voice of the overjoyed crowd was heard distinctly crying out, *Thalatta, Thalatta!* (*The Sea, the Sea!*) and congratulating each other in ecstasy. The main body, the rear guard, the baggage soldiers driving up their horses and cattle before them, became all excited by the sound, and hurried up breathless to the summit. The whole army, officers and soldiers, were thus assembled, manifesting their joyous emotions by tears, embraces, and outpourings of enthusiastic sympathy. With spontaneous impulse they heaped up stones to decorate the spot by a monument and commemorative trophy; putting on the stones such homely offerings as their means afforded, — sticks, hides, and a few of the wicker shields just taken from the natives. To the guide, who had performed his engagement of bringing them in five days within sight of the sea, their gratitude was unbounded. They presented him with a horse, a silver bowl, a Persian costume, and ten darics in money; besides several of the soldiers' rings, which he especially asked for. Thus loaded with presents he left them, having first shown them a village wherein they could find quarters, as well as the road which they were to take through the territory of the Makrones.” Grote.

23. οἱ δὲ ἐπιδόντες, those who successively came up; so τοὺς δὲ βοῶντας, those who successively raised a shout.

Page 57. — 25. οὗτος δὲ παρεγγήσαντος, some one [whoever he may have been] giving the word; οὗτος seldom has this indefinite sense except when it is joined with -ουν. In Anab. 5, II. 24 we find οὗτος δὲ ἐνάψαντος, some one or other setting it on fire.

26. κατέτεμεν, i. e. he made them useless, that the natives might not destroy the monument to get the shields.

27. δακτυλίους: “The free Greek, if not of the very poorest class, wore a ring, not only as an ornament, but as a signet to attest his signature, or for making secure his property.” Becker's *Charicles*. The *Daric stater* or *Daric* was a Persian gold coin, equivalent (by weight) to about ₤ 5.80.

**VIII. 1.** ἄριζε: the imperf. is usual in descriptions, instead of the present, when connected with past tenses of narration. — τήν, sc. χάραν.

2. οἶον (used with the superl. like ὥς or ὅτι), *excessively*. — δι' οὗ refers to ὁ ὀρίζων, *the frontier stream*. — ἔκοπτον, *cut down*, to make floats or bridges.

3. ἔρριπτον: i. e. to get within shot of the Greeks.

Page 58. — 5. ἐρωτήσαντος, *when he asked* (gen. abs.). — ἀντιτετάχεται, Ionic 3 per. plur. (see G. 122, 2).

6. ἀπερχόμεθα, *we are returning*.

7. εἰ δοίεν ἄν, indir. question (G. 245). — ἔφασαν, *said yes*: οὐκ ἔφασαν is *said no*.

8. ὥς διαβιβάσοντας, *so as to get them across*. — ἐν μέσοις (G. 142, 4, N. 4).

9. ὅπως ἀγωνιοῦνται (G. 217).

10. παύσαντας . . . ποιῆσαι, *that they should give up the phalanx, and should form the companies in columns*. — τῇ μὲν, τῇ δέ, *here, there*.

11. ἐπὶ πολλούς, *many in depth* (the idea of extending to a great depth being prominent): ἐπ' ὀλίγων (below) is simply *few in depth*, with no such accessory idea. — περιτεύσουσιν ἡμῶν, *will outflank us* (G. 175, 2). — τοῖς περιτοῖς refers to that part of the enemy's line by which they would outflank the Greeks. — ἀδρόν, *coming in a mass*.

Page 59. — 12. τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον . . . γενέσθαι, *to occupy so much ground, by leaving spaces between the columns, that the outer columns will be beyond, &c.* — ἰσόμεθα . . . οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, i. e. *our outer columns will be, &c.* — ἧ ἄν, *wherever*.

13. ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν, *on both sides*. — ὄρθιον προσίοντα, *advancing in a line*. — οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μένη: *no one will stand his ground* (G. 257): the compounds of οὐ and μή (as here) may be used in these expressions, which contain an emphatic future.

14. τὸ μὴ εἶναι (G. 263, 2). — ὥμοις καταφαγεῖν, *to devour raw*; see Iliad IV. 35, ὥμον βεβῶθαι Πρίαμον.

Page 60. — 20. τὰ ἄλλα (G. 160, 1). — ἰθαύμασαν, *found strange*. — σμήνη: "Most modern travellers attest the existence, in these regions, of honey intoxicating and poisonous, such as Xenophon describes. Professor Koch, however, states that after careful inquiries he could find no trace of such; he thinks that the honey which the Greeks ate must have been stale or tainted." Grote. — τῶν κηρίων (G. 170, 1; cf. 171, 2). — κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, *they had a diarrhoea*: διεχώρει being an impersonal verb. — ἔδηδοκότες, v. ἔσθλω. — ἔφεκαν, v. εἴκω. — ἀποθνήσκουσιν, dat. pl. following ἔφεκαν.

21. τροπῆς, *defeat*.

22. Trapezus is now Trebizond. — *Διήζοντο*, *foraged*.

24. *συνδιπράττοντο*, *joined them* (the Greeks) *in making terms*. — *ὑπέρ*, *in behalf of*. — *ξένια* (pred.), *as friendly gifts*.

25. *ἦν εὖξαντο*, see Book 3, II, 9.

Page 61. — *ἔφυγε*, *was banished*. — *ἄκων κατακανόν*, *having killed accidentally*. The Greeks looked upon any one who had caused the death of another, even by accident, as a polluted person, and he was obliged to leave the country. Even "any inanimate object, a piece of wood or stone, &c., which had caused death to any one without the proved intervention of a human hand, when the fact was verified, was [after solemn trial] formally cast beyond the border by the old Athenian law." Grote. — *ἐπιμεληθήναι*, *to take charge*: infin. of purpose after *ἔλοντο* (G. 265).

26. *τὰ δέρματα*, *the hides of the slain animals*, offered as prizes. — *ἔπου πεποιηκὸς εἴη* (G. 248, 4). — *τρέχαν* (G. 261, 2). — *ἀνιδέσεται*, v. *ἀνιάω*: *will hurt himself*.

27. *στάδιον*, cognate accus. like *δόλιχον*, *πάλην*, &c. — *αιχμαλώτων*, *captives* in place of the free-born boys who ran in the Greek games. — *στάδιον* . . . *δόλιχον*: the Olympic *stadium*, or distance between the starting-point and the goal of the Olympic race-course, was a little less than a furlong (606½ English feet). The *δόλιχον* was a longer race, in which the runner ran several times round the whole race-course; it must have been variable, as different accounts give from six to twenty-four *stadia* as its length. — *κατέβησαν*, *entered* (the contest). — *ἄτε* . . . *ἐταίρων*, *since their comrades were looking on*.

28. *βομόν*, *the barrier*, where the course began. — *ἄγαν*, with *ἑλδοντας* and *ἀναστρέφοντας*, refers to the drivers of the horses.

After a short delay at Trapezus, the Greeks continued their retreat, partly by land marches, partly by voyaging along the coast, — enlisting for a time under Seuthes, king of Thrace, — till, about a year later, they joined a Spartan army acting under Agesilaus in Western Asia Minor. Having thus entered service with the Lacedaemonians, Xenophon took part (B. C. 394) against Athens in the disastrous battle of Coronea, — the most desperate engagement that had yet taken place in Greece, in which, for the first time, the Theban phalanx appears to have been a full match for the valor of the Spartans. For this act of hostility against his native city sentence of exile was pronounced against him; and most of the latter part of his life was spent in the territory and under the protection of the Lacedaemonians. His two sons took part, and one of them was killed in the battle of Mantinea (B. C. 362), where Sparta and Athens fought against the predominance of Thebes. He died, apparently at Corinth, a few years later.

## HELLENICA.

[Book II.]

THE Peloponnesian War lasted twenty-seven years, from B. C. 431 to 404, of which the first twenty are included in the narrative of Thucydides, and the remainder in the Hellenica of Xenophon. It arose from the fear and jealousy felt by Sparta and other Greek states at the power and glory of the Athenian Empire, aided by the uneasiness of the subject allies of Athens herself under what they believed to be an oppressive rule. Since the formation of the confederacy of Delos in 477 B. C. — which was a defensive union of voluntary allies under Athens as presiding city, made to secure the Aegean against the possibility of another Persian invasion, — the maritime power of Athens had steadily increased, and the smaller states had gradually been changed from independent allies to subjects of an imperial city. This change is well explained in Chapters XLIV. and XLV. of Grote's History of Greece. The splendor of Athens reached its height under Pericles, the most illustrious of her statesmen (who died in 429 B. C.); and her Dorian neighbors in Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Thebes were now ready to combine for her destruction. In 432 B. C. the disputes between Corinth and Athens about the Corinthian colonies of Corcyra and Potidaea gave a plausible pretext for war, and war was at once declared. But, as Thucydides tells us, the war arose chiefly from the alarm felt by Sparta at the extent of the Athenian power, and her dread of its further increase. The war began in the spring of 431 B. C.; and it ended in the spring of 404 B. C. with the surrender of Athens, which is described in the first extract from the Hellenica. The power of Athens had been seriously crippled by the disastrous expedition to Syracuse (B. C. 415–413); it was finally broken by the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, as related in the chapter immediately preceding the narrative here given.

Aegospotami, or Goat's River, was a station on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite the Asiatic town of Lampsacus, which had just been captured by Lysander, the Spartan commander. It was "an open beach, without harbor, without good anchorage, without either houses or inhabitants or supplies"; and was chosen by the Athenian commander, merely to compel Lysander to an engagement. Each morning the fleet would cross the strait in line of battle, but the Spartan forces kept close under shelter of their port. Each day it withdrew to its anchorage, followed only by a few scout-boats to watch the disembarking; and then the men would stray on

shore for provisions, as far as Sestos, a few miles below. For five days the same scene was repeated. In vain Alcibiades, then living in exile near by, warned the generals of the exposed condition of their fleet, and urged that they should at least fall back to the safe and friendly harbor of Sestos; he was dismissed with the taunt that they were now in command, not he. "At length, on the fifth day, Lysander ordered the scout-ships, which he sent forth to watch the Athenians on their return, to hoist a bright shield as a signal as soon as they should see the ships at their anchorage, and the crews ashore in quest of their meal." The moment he beheld this welcome signal, he gave orders to his entire fleet to row across the strait as swiftly as possible, while the land forces marched along the strand in case of need. The fleet was taken by complete surprise. A squadron of twelve vessels under Conon, with the sacred ship called *Paralos*, escaped. All the remainder, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, were captured on the shore, defenceless, and seemingly without the least attempt on the part of any one to resist. This sweeping victory was won without the loss of a ship, almost without the loss of a man. Of more than thirty thousand prisoners, all the Athenians, some three or four thousand, were put to death. It had been charged against them that they had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all their prisoners; and one of their generals, Philocles, had put to death the captured crews of two ships, allies of the Lacedæmonians, by hurling them headlong from a precipice. Charges like these, at the end of a long and obstinate war, account for the vindictive and bitter temper of the conquerors. (See Grote, Ch. LXV.)

The battle at Aegospotami was fought in September, B. C. 405. Byzantium surrendered directly after; Lysander permitting its garrison, with other Athenians found there or elsewhere, to sail to Athens, "but nowhere else," says Xenophon, "for he knew that the more there were gathered in the city and Piræus, the sooner they would be brought to straits by famine."

II. 3. Παράλῳ: the *Paralos* ("Seaboard") and the *Salaminia* were two sacred vessels maintained by Athens, and used in the service of the government. They carried deputations to the sacred festivals, and embassies; and were sometimes used to bring state criminals to Athens, as in the case of Alcibiades in 415 B. C. — νυκτός (G. 179, 1). — ἡ συμφορά (= συμφορά), the disaster to the fleet at Aegospotami: ξὺν is often used for σύν in the older Attic. — Πειραιῶς, the Piræus was the principal port of Athens; it was fortified and connected with the city (ἄστυ), which was four and a half miles distant by the two long walls of Pericles. (See the plan at the end of the volume.) — ὁ ἕτερος . . . παραγγέλλον: we should expect the gen. absol., but the nominative is in apposition with the

nominative implied in the verbal noun *οἰμαγή* (as if *ἔμμεγον* had been used).

Page 62. — *πνθύντες*, agreeing with the subject implied in *οὐδείς*, as if it had been, *all were sleepless*. — *πέσεισθαι*, *that they were to suffer* (G. 246). — *οἷα ἐποίησαν*: see G. 247 (last example) and N. 2. — *Μηλούς*: Melos, a Spartan colony, had been subjugated by Athens in 416 B. C.; the men of military age were put to death, and the women and children were enslaved.

4. *ἔδοξε*, *they voted*, lit. *it pleased them*: the expression is the same which was used in the Athenian decrees, *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*. — *ἀποχῶσαι* (v. *ἀποχώννυμι*), *to block the channel*. — *περὶ ταῦτα*, *thus employed*.

5. *ναυσίν* (G. 188, 5). — *κατεσκευάσατο*, *established*, i. e. in the form of "an oligarchy of ten native citizens, chosen from among his most daring and unscrupulous partisans, to govern in conjunction with the Lacedaemonian harmost." — *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, often without *χωρία*, a common expression for the coast of Thrace.

6. *ἀφαιστήκα*, *had* (already) *revolted*. — *Ἀθηναίων* (gen. governed by *ἀπο-* in *ἀφαιστήκα*, G. 193), *from the Athenians*. — *σφαγὰς . . . ποιήσαντες*, *having made a massacre of the aristocrats*: this massacre took place eight years before, but was recent enough to forbid the Samians to hope for mercy.

7. *Δακλείαν*: a post in Attica, whence Agis, the Spartan king, was now threatening the city. — *ὅτι*: understand *λέγοντάς τινας*, or *ἀγγέλλοντας* after *ἔπεμψε*. — *προσπλεῖ* (G. 243). — *τοῦ ἑτέρου*, *the other of the two kings*, Agis being one.

8. *ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ*, the common reading, would be an unusual expression for *in the gymnasium called the Academy*. Perhaps we may insert a comma after *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, and take the following words in apposition with *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, *in the Academy*, viz. *in the gymnasium thus named*. Many scholars consider the last three words as an interpolation. The Academy (i. e. the grove of the hero Academus) was northwest of the city, on the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. It was afterwards made famous by Plato, who used it as his place of instruction; and its name is thus a familiar word in all modern languages.

9. *Αἰγιναν*: in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B. C.), the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans with their families from their island, and the Spartans allowed them to settle in Thyrea. — *ἀπέδωκε* implies that Lysander restored Aegina to its former inhabitants. — *δύσους ἐδύνατο πλείστοις*, *the greatest number which he was able (to collect)*, like *ὡς πλείστοις* or *ὅτι πλείστοις*. — *ὡς αὐτῶς*, *likewise*, adv. of *ὁ αὐτός*, *the same*. — *Μηλίοις*: see note on § 3 above. — *τῆς αὐτῶν*, sc. *χώρας* (G. 141, N. 4). — *πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ*, *he came to the Piraeus and anchored there*.

10. *τί χρὴ ποιεῖν* (G. 243).



Page 63. — *ὄντων* (G. 277, 2.) — *σωτηρίαν τῷ μὴ παθεῖν*, *security against suffering*, the *μὴ* strengthening the negative idea (of *prevention*) implied in *σωτηρίαν* (G. 263, 1). — *ἃ . . . μικροπολίτας*, *what they had not done for punishment, but had done unjustly* (*ἡδίκουν*) *through insolence to men of the small states*: *ἃ* is direct object of *ἡτοίησαν* and cognate object of *ἡδίκουν*. — *οὐδ' ἐπὶ μῶν*, more emphatic than *ἐπ' οὐδεμῶν*. — *ἐκείνους*, the Lacedaemonians.

11. *ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες*: they passed a vote of amnesty, *restoring to full civic rights* all who had forfeited any of those rights (i. e. who had become *ἀτιμοί*) either as public debtors or by sentence of the law. After this vote, the citizens met in the acropolis and pledged themselves to harmony. — *ἀποθνησκόντων* (G. 277, 5.) — *ἔχοντες*, *keeping*. — *ἐπὶ τοῖτοις*, *on these conditions*.

12. *εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*. — *κύριος αὐτός* (G. 138, N. 8): *αὐτός* is adjective pronoun, *himself* (145, 1).

13. *πλησίον πῆς Λακωνικῆς*: as Sellasia is generally said to be *in* Laconia, *πλησίον* should perhaps be omitted here. — *οἷα*, sc. *τοιαῦτα*. — *αὐτόθεν*, *instantly*. — *εἰ δέονται* (G. 247). — *τι*, *at all*. — *κάλλιον* (G. 75).

14. *ἦκον* (G. 200, N. 3). — *ἐνέπεσε*, v. *ἐμπίπτω*. — *ὥς ἂν πέμπωσιν*, *while they should be sending* (G. 247; 202, 1): *ὥς πέμπουσιν* might have been used.

15. *Λακεδαιμονίοις*, dat. with *εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι* (G. 186, N. 1). — *ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο*, *on the terms which they offered* (G. 153, N. 1). — *ἐκάτερον*, i. e. *each of the two long walls* leading to the Piraeus; see note on § 20, below. — *μὴ ἐξεῖναι* depends on the verbal force of *ψήφισμα* (G. 261, 1, N.).

16. *εἰ βούλονται*, *if they wished* (G. 247): the direct form of the sentence following *ὅτι* would be, *εἰ βούλεσθέ με πέμψαι, ἤξω εἰδὼς πότερον ἀντέχουσι*, &c. — *Λακεδαιμονίους* is by *anticipation* object of *εἰδὼς*, instead of being subj. nominative of *ἀντέχουσι*. — *ἣ* connects *βουλόμενοι* (G. 277, 2) to *πίστεως ἕνεκα* (*in order to secure good faith*).

Page 64. — *ὃ τι τις λέγοι*, *whatever any one might propose* (G. 248). — *ὁμολογήσαν* (G. 202, 3, N.).

17. *τέως*, *for some time*. — *κατέχοι* and *κελεύοι* are instances of the rare imperfect optative, representing *κατεῖχε* and *έκέλευε* of the direct discourse, which would regularly be retained in such cases (G. 243, N. 1). — *εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*. — *κύριος* (G. 138, N. 8). — *ὃν ἐρωτῶτο*, *of what he* (Lysander) *was asked* (G. 153, N. 1), the direct form being *ὃν ἐρωτῶμαι* (indic.). — *δέκατος αὐτός*, a common expression for *one of ten*, generally applied to the principal person in the number mentioned.

18. *ἀγγελοῦντα* (G. 277, 3) *ὅτι ἀπεκρίναιτο*, *to inform them that he had replied*, &c. (the message was *ἀπεκρίνατο Δύσανδρος*, &c.).

19. *ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ*, *in what capacity*. — *καλεῖν ἐκέλευον*, *gave orders to*

*summon them.* — μή σπένδουθαι, [urging] *to make no terms.* — ξηραίν, sc. τὴν πόλιν.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδίσαι, *refused to [said they would not] enslave, &c.* It is said that, when a Theban delegate advocated the destruction of Athens, a Spartan replied, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece, and leave her ἑτερόφθαλμον. The same argument was used at Athens in favor of helping Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B. C. For ἀνδραποδίσαι, see G. 120, 3. — ἐποιούντο, *offered to make* (G. 200, N. 2). — ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἐπισθαι (G. 267). — τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη: probably only the two long walls leading to the Piraeus are meant; as the third or Phaleric wall, leading to the old port of Phalerum, was now of less account, since the Piraeus had been strongly fortified and connected with the city by two walls. — καθέντας (v. καθήμι), *restoring.* — τὸν αὐτόν, &c., lit. *regarding as foe and friend the same* with the Lacedaemonians.

21. μή ἦκοιεν, *lest they might have come* (G. 200, N. 3; 202, 2). — οὐ γὰρ ἐτι ἐνεχόρα μῆναι, *for there was no longer room (χώρα) for delay.*

22. ἐφ' οἷς . . . ποιοῖντο, *the terms on which (they said) the L. offered to make peace*; ποιοῖντο representing ποιοῦνται of the direct form (G. 248, 4): see ἐποιούντο in § 20, above.

Page 65. — ἐπ' αὐλητρίδων, *to the music of flute-girls.*

III. 1. τῷ ἐπώννῳ ἔτα, the year beginning at midsummer 404 B. C., the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad. — δν . . . οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, *whom the Athenians do not name*, i. e. among the ἀρχόντες ἐπώνυμοι: the first of the nine Archons gave his name to the year, whence he was called the *Eponymus*. — ἀναρχίαν: the word ἀναρχία was entered in the public records for this year instead of the name of Pythodorus. — There are strong reasons for believing all of § 1, except τῷ δ' ἐπώννῳ ἔτα, to be an interpolation; it will be seen that the other words break the construction of the sentence, which becomes grammatical only by taking τῷ . . . ἔτα with ἔδοξε in § 2.

2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, *the people voted*: see note on II. 4, above. — οἱ . . . συγγράψουσι (G. 236, N. 3), *who were to compile, &c.*: see note on § 11, below.

The omitted sections (4–10) refer to matters in Thessaly and Syracuse (under the tyrant Dionysius), to the surrender of Samos to Lysander, and to Lysander's return to Sparta.

11. ἐφ' ὅτε συγγράψαι (G. 267), equivalent to οἱ συγγράψουσι in § 2. — πολιτεύσονται is an indirect statement (G. 248, 4) of the idea of the Athenians in choosing the Thirty: in § 2 the indicative of the direct form is retained. For the middle voice, see G. 199, N. 1. — αἰετῶν, *they continually delayed.*

12. ξύντας and δντας (G. 246; 280). — βαρύν, *odious.* — ἐπήγον θανάτου, *arraigned capitally* (G. 178, last example). — αὐτῶν (G. 173, 2, N.).

Page 66. — *δοσι ξυνήδεσαν . . . ὄντες* (G. 280, N. 2).

13. *ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη . . . ὅπως βούλονται*, *how they might get the power to treat the city as they pleased*; indirect question, representing *ὡς ἂν ἐξείη ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βουλοίμεθα* (G. 245; 247, N. 3). The first *ὅπως* is an indirect interrogative (like *πῶς*); the second is relative (G. 232, 4). — *φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξαι ἔλθειν*, *to help bring it about that guards should come to them*, i. e. *to aid in having guards sent them*: *σφίσι* refers to the Thirty (G. 144, 2). — *ὥς . . . καταστήσαιντο* (G. 239, 2; 248, 3). — *θρέψειν* (G. 17, 2, N.; 203, N. 2). — Compare *αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι* with *σφίσι* *ἐλθεῖν* above: as *Λύσανδρος* is subject of *ξυνέπραξεν*, *σφίσι* would have been incorrect here.

14. *ὥς . . . πράττειν* (G. 248, N.): the idea of the Thirty was *ὥς πάντα ἐπαινῇ ἂν πράττωμεν* (or *ἂν πράττομεν*), *that he may praise everything which we may do* (or *everything which we do*). — *τῶν φροτρῶν*, depending on the omitted antecedent of *οὗς*. — *ἥκιστα . . . ἀνέχεσθαι*, representing *ἥκιστα . . . ἀνέχονται*, *they [are men who] least endure being thrust out* (unless *ἂν* is omitted by accident before *ἀνέχεσθαι*, or unless *ἂν* in the next clause affects *ἀνέχεσθαι* also). — *πλείστους ἂν . . . λαμβάνειν*, *would get most adherents* (G. 211): the protasis is expressed in *ἐπιχαρούντας*, = *εἰ ἐπιχαροῖεν* (G. 226, 1).

15. *ἐπὶ τὸ . . . ἀποκτείνειν* (G. 262, 1). — *ἄτε . . . φυγόν*, *inasmuch as he had been exiled* (G. 277, N. 2): *φεύγειν* often means *to be exiled*; hence *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου* follows, as if the verb were passive (G. 197, 1). — *εἰ τις ἐτιμᾶτο . . . εἰργάζετο*, *in case one was honored*, &c. depends as protasis on *ἀντέκοπτε λέγων*, and not on *εἴη*: if it belonged to the indirect discourse after *δοι*, we should expect *τιμῶτο* or *τιμᾶται*, &c.

16. *οἰκείως ἐχρήτο*, *treated as a friend*. — *δοι οὐκ ἐγχωροῖη*, *that it was not possible* (lit. *there was no room*). — *μη οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι*, *not to put out of the way* (G. 283, 7): when we should have (affirmatively) *ἐγχωρεῖ μη τοῦτο ποιεῖν*, we may have (negatively) *οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ μη οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖν*. — *ἥττόν τι* belongs to *ἐπιμαλίσθαι*. — *ὥσπερ τυραννίδος*, *as a tyranny*: the meaning is, *if you think that our large number prevents our government from being in spirit a tyranny* (properly a rule of one), *and from requiring the same vigilance as a tyranny, you are a fool*.

17. *δῆλοι*, *evidently* (G. 138, N. 1; 280, N. 1). — *ξυνιστάμενοι*, *banding together* (in a threatening way).

Page 67. — *εἰ μή . . . λήψοιτο, . . . ἔσοιτο*, representing *εἰ μή . . . λήψεται* (G. 223, N. 1), *ἀδύνατον ἔσται* (G. 202, 4). — *τις*, *they* (by the English idiom); for we should say *unless we take* for *εἰ μή τις λήψεται* in the direct form.

18. *συρρῦεισαν*, v. *συρρεῖν*. — *καταλέγουσι*, *register them in the list* (*κατάλογος*, *catalogue*) mentioned in § 20. — *τοὺς μετέξοντας δὴ*, *who (as they said) were to take part in the administration* (G. 277, 3): we might have had *οἱ μετέξουσι* (see § 2, above).

19. *κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι* belongs at once with *βουλομένους* and with *τρισχιλλούς*, *that, wishing to make the best of the citizens partners, they made three thousand of them partners.* — *τό* before *πρώτον* belongs to *ποιήσασθαι*, which is the subject of *δοκοίη*: we should expect another infinitive after *ἔπειτα δέ*, but after the new verb *ὅρῳ* the construction changes to that of the participle (G. 280). — *ὥσπερ . . . εἶναι*, *as if this number* (three thousand) *must needs be honorable men: ἔχαν ἀνάγκην τινὰ ποιῆν τι* is *to be under some necessity of doing something* (G. 261, 1, N.). For the accusative absolute see G. 278, 2, N; for *ὥσπερ*, G. 277, N. 3. — *οἷόν τε εἴη* is irregularly added, by an entire change in the form of the sentence, as if *εἰ ἔχοι* had been used after *ὥσπερ* in the preceding clause, instead of the conditional participle *ἔχοντα* (G. 277, 4). Here *οἷόν τε ὅν* would have been the regular form after *ὥσπερ* (without *εἰ*), *as if it were possible*; *εἴη* representing *εἰ . . . ἔστιν* in the words of Theramenes, as *δοκοίη* (above) represents *δοκεῖ*. — *γινέσθαι* has *τινάς* understood as its subject, and is followed by *σπουδαίους* and *πονηροὺς* in the predicate. — *κατασκευαζομένους* is added, by a sort of apposition, to explain *πράττοντας*. — *ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων*, *weaker than its subjects*.

20. *οἱ δ' ἔξετασιν*, &c. The meaning of this obscure description seems to be as follows. The Thirty held a general review of all the citizens capable of bearing arms; but while the Three Thousand were reviewed together in the market-place, the other citizens were scattered over the city in small detachments (*ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ*). Then, while the ordinary citizens were dismissed for dinner or some other purpose (*ἀπεληλύθεισαν*), leaving their arms stacked at the places of review, a general call to arms was suddenly sounded (*κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα*); on which the Spartan garrison (*φρουροί*) and those citizens who understood the plot rushed and seized the arms of the unsuspecting citizens before the latter could return and secure them. — *ἐκείνοι*, those who were *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. — *ἐν τῷ ναῷ*, *in the temple*, i. e. the Parthenon.

21. *ὡς ἔξόν*, *since (as they thought) it was in their power* (G. 277, N. 2). — *οἱ τι βούλονται* (G. 248). — *τῶν μετοίκων*, *resident foreigners*, living at Athens chiefly for purposes of trade, without political rights; as many of them were rich, they were selected as victims. Lysias (in Eratosth. § 2) says that the Thirty seized *ten μέτοικοι* in this way, including two poor men in the number lest the purity of their motives should be suspected. — *ἀποσημῆσθαι*, *to confiscate* (properly *to put a seal upon*).

During this reign of terror, the orator Lysias was arrested by order of the Thirty while he was entertaining friends at dinner; but he escaped from custody and fled to Megara. His brother Polemarchus, however, was arrested in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the tyrants, and was put to death without trial, and without so much as hearing the offence with which he was charged. The house of Polemarchus was plundered, even the golden ear-rings were torn from the ears of his wife, and his family were dependent on the charity of friends for the means of giving him a decent

burial. Lysias describes these terrible scenes in his oration against Erasthenes, whom he afterwards prosecuted for the murder of Polemarchus.

22. *ὄντινα βούλοιοτο* (G. 248, 1) : this use of the optative must not be confounded with that seen in *παρ' ὧν λαμβάνουσιν*, below (G. 233). — *φάσκοντας*, while we declare.

Page 68. — *μηδέν* (G. 283, 4). — *τῷ παντί*, in every way.

23. *ἐμποδὼν τῷ ποιεῖν* (G. 262, 2 ; 185). — *ἰδίᾳ . . . ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον*, privately ; one to this man, one to that.

24. *πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ*, more than is fitting (lit. *seasonable*). — *μεθίστανται*, are changing. — *τοῖς . . . μεθιστᾶσι*, those who are changing (the government). — *διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι*, because the city is ; *διὰ τὸ . . . τετραφῆθαι*, because the people have been reared (G. 202, 2).

25. *τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν*, to such as we (G. 153, N. 5). — *οἱ βέλτιστοι*, the aristocracy (the better class), opposed to the *ἄνθρωποι*, the mass of the people.

26. *ἐὰν αἰσθανώμεθα* (G. 225). — *ἐκποδὼν ποιοῦμεθα*, we put him out of our way (G. 199, 2).

27. *οἷς δύναται*, by whatever means he can. — *ἦν κατανοήτε* (G. 223) ; but *ὅταν βουλώμεθα* (G. 233). — *εἰ ἐγίνωσκε*, if he had this opinion (G. 221), has for its first apodosis the simple indicative *πολέμιος ἦν*. The second apodosis *ἐνομίζετο ἂν* has a further protasis implied in *δικαίως*, if he were rightly estimated (which would belong under G. 222) ; and to this it conforms. See G. 227, 1, and *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 (a).

Page 69. — 28. *τοῦ δήμου*, of the democracy. — *τοῖς . . . εἰς ἡμᾶς*, on those who were first brought before us (for judgment), follows *ἐπιτιθέναι* (G. 187). — *ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ*, in safety (G. 139, 2).

29. *ὅσῳ . . . φανερόν*, by as much as what is secret is harder to guard against than what is open. — *ἐχθρόν* (v. *ἐχθρός*), more hostile. — *οὔτε ἐσπεύσατο οὐτ' ἐπίστευσε*, gnomic aorists (G. 205, 2 ; see N. 1) : the subjunctive *λαμβάνουσι* (G. 233) depends on these aorists, as they are primary tenses (G. 201, end). — *τοῦ λοιποῦ*, for the future (G. 179, 1).

30. *ἀναμνήσω* (v. *ἀναμνήσκω*) here takes two accusatives ; this verb regularly takes the accusative and the genitive (G. 171, 2, N. 3 and Rem.). *κατὰ τὸν πατέρα*, i. e. as his father had been. — *τοὺς τετρακοσίους*, the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established in Athens in 411 B. C. ; it lasted only four months. See Grote, Chap. LXII. — *ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ*, a party hostile to the oligarchy.

31. *κόθορνος*, a high buskin, worn by tragic actors : see the cut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Cothurnus*. — *ἀποβλέπει*, it is adapted to both feet, as the man who is said to resemble it has an eye to both sides. — *ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν*, the man (who is) fit to live (G. 142, 2). — *οὐ . . . ξύνοντας* : οὐ belongs to εἶναι, and *προάγειν* depends on *δανόν*. — *ὥς ἂν εἰς οὐρον καταστῶσιν*, until they get into fair sailing (G. 239, 2 ; 233). — *ἐπειδὴν τι ἀντικαθῆναι* : we should expect the optative, by assimilation to

πλείον (G. 235), and we must translate it like one. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 1 (b).

32. *δήπου*, no doubt. — *πλείστοις . . . ἀπολλυμένοι*, you are in part to blame that very many who were on the side of oligarchy have perished at the hands of the people: *αἰτίας τινι τινος* means the cause of something to some one; and *αἰτίος* may take the simple infinitive (G. 261, 1) as here, or the infinitive with *τοῦ* (G. 262, 2).

Page 70. — *ἀνελίσθαι* (v. *ἀναίρω*), to take up or recover. — *ναυμαχία*, the sea-fight at Arginusae, B. C. 406, in which the Athenian fleet was victorious, but sailed away leaving, besides the slain, more than a thousand perishing upon the wrecks: the commanders were afterwards brought to trial before the people, and six of them sentenced to death, for this neglect; but the trial was hasty and informal, and their execution was regarded by many as a public crime. — *ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς*, caused their death: Theramenes, who was one of the commanders, joined in the accusation of the others.

33. *τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν*, gain; *τοῦ καλοῦ*, honor. — *τούτου*, gen. after *φείσασθαι*, v. *φείδομαι* (G. 171, 2). — *ἡμᾶς ταῦτό*, the same to us (G. 165).

34. *καλλίστη*: Critias, who was a very able man, a kinsman of Plato and a friend of Socrates, wrote a treatise on the excellence of the Spartan constitution. — *ἀντὶ . . . πείθεσθαι*, instead of yielding to the majority. — *τοῖς πραττομένοις*, the acts of the government. — *ἂν* before *οἰσθε* belongs to *δξιωθῆναι* (G. 211). — *πολλοὺς . . . ὑμῖν*, would make many of those who hold views (*γινωσκόντων*) hostile to you haughty. — *τῶν ἔξω*, the political exiles, those who afterwards restored the democracy.

35. *ἀποκτεῖναι* (G. 203). — *οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου*, i. e. my charge against them did not begin the controversy. — *προσταχθέν*, when it was ordered (G. 278, 2). — *ἀπολογούμενος*, alleging in defence. — *οὐδέ*, not even. — *μὴ οὔτι*, not to say, much less. — *ἔδοξα . . . λέγειν*, was acknowledged to have spoken (seemed to speak) reasonably.

Page 71. — *προέμενοι*, v. *προίημι*. — *ἀπολίσθαι* (G. 265). — *ἀποπλέοντες ὄχοντο*, sailed away (G. 279, 2, N.).

36. *παρὰνεομηκέναι*, has acted unlawfully (i. e. in accusing me); for which some editors suggest the milder *παρὰνεοηκέναι*, has erred in judgment. — *πενίστας*, serfs (like the Laconian Helots): the charge of exciting a democratic revolt would be particularly galling to a proud aristocrat like Critias.

37. *ὦν*, sc. *ἐκείνων*, depending on *μηδέν*. — *μηδέν . . . γένοιτο*, may nothing of the kind be done here. — *ὑμᾶς*, obj. of *παῦσαι*, depose you (see § 43, below). — *δίκαιον εἶναι* explains *τάδε*, the obj. of *ὁμολογῶ*. — *εἰ κατανοήσετε*, see last note on § 31.

38. *μέχρι . . . καταστήναι*, until you were established in the magistracy (*βουλείαν*): *μέχρι τοῦ* belongs also to *ἀποδεχθῆναι* and *ὑπάγεσθαι*; but with *ὑπάγεσθαι*, *μέχρι* must be translated *while*.

40. *ἐπόπτης* *ἔξοιεν*, *would be suspicious* (G. 202, 4). — *ἕκαστον*, see § 21. — *τούτων ἀπολομένων* (G. 226, 1) represents the protasis to *ἔσονται*: in the direct form, *ἐὰν οὗτοι ἀπόλωνται, πολλοίμοι ἔσονται*.

Page 72. — 41. *παρηρῶντο*, *took away* (see § 20, above). — *ὅπως . . . ἀφελεῖν*, in appos. with *τούτου ἕνεκα* (G. 215, Rem.). — *μηδέν*, in *nothing*. — *ἔξῃν γάρ, &c.*, *for if they had wanted that, they might have left no one* (G. 222, N. 2) *by distressing [the city] with famine a little longer* (*ἔτι*): *πίσαντας* agrees with the understood subj. of *λιπεῖν* (G. 138, N. 8, end).

42. *οὐκ αἰ ἔδοκα μοι, again, I did not approve*. — *τὸ ἀντίπαλον*, the *opposition*, of which the head-quarters were with the exiles. — *οὕτως*, in *this way*, referring to the following protasis. — *εἰ . . . προσγενήσονται . . . φανήσονται*: *μέν* and *δέ* show that *εἰ* belongs to both verbs. In the direct form the protasis would have the fut. indic. (G. 223, N. 1).

44. *ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω* and *ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν* are subj. of *γίνεσθαι*. — *ἄν* belongs to *βούλεσθαι* (G. 211). — *οὗτοι*, i. e. the Thirty, represented by Critias. — *αὐτοῖς*, i. e. the exiles. — *χαλεπὸν . . . χώρας*, *that they think it would be hard to get even a footing anywhere in the country*: *ἡγείσθαι*, like *νομίζειν*, depends on *οἶμαι* (*αὐτοῖς*); and *χαλεπὸν ἂν εἶναι* (= *χαλεπὸν ἂν ᾗν*) depends on *ἡγείσθαι*.

45. *οἷος*, [such a one] *as*, with infin. (G. 261).

Page 73. — *τετρακοσίων*, see § 30, above. — *πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ*, *any form of government* (G. 184, 2).

46. *ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἀνέλεσαν*, *they (the Spartans) relaxed nothing of their hostility*. — *οἱ ἀμφί, &c.* the party of the oligarchy (G. 141, N. 3). — *ἔρυμα*: this was a fort on the mole (*χῶμα*) which commanded the entrance of the harbor of Piraeus, built under pretence of defending the city from a hostile fleet, but really to introduce a Lacedaemonian force to uphold the tyranny of the Four Hundred. — *ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι*, *make subject to themselves*.

47. *ἄποκαλεῖ*, *nicknames*. — *ὡς παρῶμενον*, *because (as he says) I try*. — *τί ποτε*, *what in the world?*

48. *οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν*, *not . . . until*. — *καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι . . . μετέχοιεν*, *until even the slaves, and those who for poverty would sell the state for a drachma, should receive a drachma*, i. e. have a seat in the Senate, the pay of a senator being a drachma (17 cts.) a day. Or the passage may mean simply, *until all who would sell the state for a drachma should have an opportunity to do so*, i. e. *should have a drachma offered them*. — *εἶναι ἂν* represents *εἴη ἂν*, and *πρὶν . . . μετέχοιεν* stands like a conditional relative sentence (G. 240, 1, third example). — *οἱ . . . ἂν ἀποδόμενοι* (G. 211) is equivalent to *ἐκείνοι οἱ . . . ἂν ἀπόδοιντο*. — *ἐγγενέσθαι ἂν* (= *ἐγγένοιτο ἂν*), *could arise or be formed*. — *εἰς τὸ . . . τυραννεῖσθαι*, *lit. into the [condition of] being under the tyranny of a few*. — *τὸ μόντοι . . . πολιτεῖαν*, *but with the help of the powerful, both by horses and by shields, to aid the government (I say) by these means*; all this is the subject of *εἶναι*, if the

text is correct. But διὰ τούτων is thus a mere repetition of what precedes, and the words have probably been corrupted in copying.

49. εἰν . . . ἐλεγχθῶ . . . πράττων . . . πεποιηκώς, *if I am (shall be) convicted of doing . . . or of having done* (G. 280): the apodosis δικάζεις ἂν ἀποθνήσκαι, *that I should justly die*, has another protasis implied in παθών (= εἰ πάθοιμι); see note on § 27, above. — ὠχρατότατα (double superlative), *extremest*.

50. δῆλη . . . ἐπιδορυβήσασα, *let it be seen that it applauded with favor* (G. 280, N. 1).

Page 74. — εἰ ἐπιτρέψα: some MSS. have ἐπιτρέψοι, corresponding to ἀποφεύξοιτο (see G. 247, N. 1). — οὐ βιωτόν, *intolerable*. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας, the young men mentioned in § 23. — φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ (G. 185). — δρυφάκτοις, *the railing*, which separated the Senate from the spectators.

51. προστάτον . . . οἷον δεῖ, *that it is the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be* (for τοιούτου οἷον εἶναι δεῖ). — δεῖ ἂν . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ, *not to permit*: irregular for τὸ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπαι. — οἷδε, the young men above mentioned. — τῶν ὄντων, dep. on μὴ δένα. — κυρίους θανατοῦν, *competent to put to death*. — ξυνοκοῦν, *since it is agreed on* (G. 278, 2).

52. Ἑστίαν: the altar of Hestia (*Vesta*), the Goddess of the Household, "the senatorial hearth, the altar and sanctuary in the midst of the Senate house." — ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ, *in the power of Critias*.

53. ὑμῶν, obj. of θαυμάζω (G. 171, 2). — καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, *and that too, when you know*. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2). — τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου, *that of any one of you*.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα, *the Eleven*, who had charge of prisons and executions. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, *to seize Theramenes*. — ἐκεῖνοι, nom. without verb.

Page 75. — οὐ δεῖ, *to the proper place*, with ἀπαγαγόντες. — τὰ ἐκ τούτων, *what follows from this*, i. e. execution.

55. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, *the space in front*.

56. δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε, *proclaiming aloud the treatment he was suffering*. — οὐκ . . . οἰμᾶσθαι, *shall I not suffer?* The word, as used by Satyrus, meant that he would suffer for it if he did not keep quiet. — τὸ λειπόμενον, i. e. the last few drops of hemlock. — ἀποκοτταβίσαντα, *jerking out*: the κότταβος was a sort of toast, in which the guest flung out a few drops of wine, at the same time calling the name of his beloved; the sound of the wine, as it struck the mark aimed at, was accepted as an omen, or sign of favor. — ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀνδρός, *this quality of the man*. — τό belongs to ἀπολεῖν, in appos. with ἐκεῖνο.

"The scene just described," says Mr. Grote, "is one of the most striking and tragical in ancient history. The atrocious injustice by which Theramenes perished, as well as the courage and self-possession which he displayed in the moment of danger, and his cheerfulness even in the prison, not inferior to that of Socrates three years afterwards, naturally enlist the warmest sympathies in his favor. But . . . he was a selfish, cunning,



and faithless man; ready to enter into conspiracies, yet never foreseeing their consequences; and breaking faith to the ruin of colleagues whom he had first encouraged, when he found them more consistent and thorough-going in crime than himself."

IV. 1. *προσέπον μὴ εἰσέναι*, *forbade to enter the city* (i. e. expelled from the city); *ἦγον*, *dragged to execution*: it was said that in these executions as many as fifteen hundred perished. Among the banished were the most eminent intellectual teachers, native or foreign, Socrates being hardly spared. — *φευγόντων*, gen. abs. irregularly for *φεύγοντες*. — *ἐνέπλησαν*, v. *ἐμπέλημι*. — *τῶν ἐποχορούντων*, *the fugitives*.

2. *ὥς σὺν*, *with about*. — *Φυλὴν*, *Phyle*, a frontier fortress among the hills, on the road to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Page 76. — 3. *τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ*, *during the night* (G. 179, 1) *and on the next day* (G. 189). — *ὑπό*, [taken] *by*.

4. *ληλατήσουσιν*, *would forage* (i. e. those in Phyle). — *φυλάς*: the Attic army was mustered according to the ten tribes.

5. *συνελεγμένων* (v. *συλλέγω*), *as there were gathered*, in appos. with *περὶ ἑπτακοσίους*.

6. *ἀνίσταντο*, i. e. the forces of the Thirty. — *ἑοι*, *to [the post] where* (after *ἀνίσταντο*, which implies motion), i. e. *each to his own work*. — *ὑπῶν*, *encampment*. — *ἔστι μὲν οὖν*, *some* (G. 152, N. 2).

Page 77. — 8. *ἐν τοῖς ἱππέσιν*, *under guard of the cavalry*. — *πόσοι εἰεν*, i. e. the people of Eleusis. — *προσδεήσουσιντο* (G. 243), *how much additional garrison they would need* (i. e. in consequence of the seizure of Phyle). — *τὸν δὲ ἐξίοντα*, *every one as he went out*. — *ξυναλημμένοι* (v. *συλλαμβάνω*), *seized*. A similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made at Salamis. — *τοῖς ἑνδεκά*, i. e. for execution.

9. *Ὀιδεῖον*: not the Odeum of Pericles, but the older building near the Ilissus, once used as a theatre. — *ταῦτὰ ἡμῖν*, *the same with us* (G. 159, N. 2; 186, N. 2).

10. *δοσις* . . *ἐμελεν*, *to such as cared only for gain*. The number thus put to death, says Lysias, was about three hundred. — *ἐβοήθουν αὐτοῖς*, *went to their relief* (i. e. of their party in Piræus). — *ἀναφέρουσαν*, *leading up*, i. e. to the high ground of the Piræus.

11. *μὴ ἀνέναι αὐτοῖς*, *not to let them come up*, i. e. upon any of the high land of the peninsula. — *κύκλος*, the whole circuit of the fortifications which surrounded the Piræus. The name Piræus was given to the whole peninsula with its three harbors; this included Munychia, which was the high hill on the east side of the peninsula, directly overlooking the smallest of the three harbors, the little bay of Munychia. The town of Piræus occupied part of the larger lower hill south of the great harbor (the harbor called Piræus), and extended across the isthmus along the shore, and over the low land west and northwest of Munychia, to the place at which the two long walls from Athens joined the fortifications of the Piræus. In

this northern part of the town of Piræus was the market-place named for Hippodamus of Miletus, who was employed by Pericles to lay out the new town of Piræus. Hippodamus astonished the Athenians by his broad straight streets, crossing each other at right angles. One of these was the street here mentioned, leading from the great square (the ἀγορά) up the hill of Munychia; on which hill stood the temple of Artemis Munychia and that of the Thracian Artemis (Bendis). [On many maps the relative positions of Munychia and Piræus are reversed, and Phalerum is wrongly made one of the three harbors of the peninsula of Piræus.]

Page 78. — ἐγένοντο . . . ἀσπίδων, they formed [a body] not less than fifty shields in depth. — ἀνω, upwards, to Munychia.

12. ἀντανέλησαν, i. e. Thrasybulus and his men filled the upper part of the same street to oppose them. — ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, behind them. — αὐτόθεν, from that quarter. — ἐν ᾧ, while. — θέσθαι, to rest the shield on the ground. — στάς, taking his stand (not standing): see G. 200, N. 5.

13. εἰς τῶν προσιόντων, &c., there are among those who are advancing against us (G. 169, 1), first, those on the right, whom, &c. — ἡμέραν πέμπτην, five days ago (G. 161, N.). See Anab. 4, V. 24. — ἀπὸσημαίνοντο, marked for death: this word usually means to put a seal on property taken for confiscation (see above, II. 21, with note). — οὐ, where, explained in the next section.

14. ἔχοντες . . . καθίσταμεν, we stand in front of them, with arms in our hands. — ὅτι . . . ξυνελαμβανόμεθα, because we were seized while dining, &c. — οἱ δὲ καί, some of us also. — οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικούντες, not only when we were guilty of no wrong: lit. not to speak of our being guilty of any wrong: in full οὐ λέγω ὅπως (= ὡς) ἀδικούντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα. — χαμῶνα, &c., see §§ 3 and 6 (above).

Page 79. — 15. ἐξιδόμεθα, v. ἐξικνέομαι: it governs the gen. by G. 171, 1.

16. ᾗτο ἂν τις, one might suppose (G. 226, 2). — ἁμαρτήσεσθαι, will miss: the object αὐτῶν (antecedent of ᾗν) is understood. — δραπέτες-σύνειν, will skulk, a word used in contempt of fugitive slaves. — ἐναλλομένους, leaping or rushing upon them, agrees with ἡμᾶς, the omitted subject of ἀνατρέπαι, instead of agreeing with ἡμῖν understood after ἐξίσται (G. 138, N. 8).

17. ἕκαστός τις . . . ᾧν, each man shall be conscious to himself of being the main cause of victory (G. 217). — αὕτη, she, viz. νίκη. — οἱς εἰσὶ, to those who have them (G. 153, N. 1). — ἡμῶν, gen. part. after οἱ. — ἐπιδωσι (G. 232, 3), v. ἐφοράω. — μνημεῖον . . . τεύξεται, for none so rich, who shall win so fair a sepulchre: the construction is idiomatic; understand οὕτω before καλοῦ. — Ἐννάλιον, the God of battles, a name of Ares (or Mars). — ἀνθ' ᾧν ὑβρίσθημεν, in requital of the insults we have borne: the active construction would be, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζαν (G. 159, N. 4; 153, N. 1).

18. ὁ μάντις : the article is used because the *prophet* or *diviner* had his official place in the host. — ἐπειδὴν . . . δοκεῖ, the words of the diviner.

19. τίθαπται, *lies buried*. — τῶν δέκα, chiefs of the force established by the Thirty. — Χαρμίδης : he was an uncle of Plato, from whom one of Plato's dialogues is named. — πολλοί, *many* [of both parties].

Page 80. — 20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, *the herald of the [Eleusinian] mysteries*, belonging to one of the ancient priestly families. (See *Eumolpidae* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities). — κατασιωπησάμενος, *having proclaimed silence*. — ξυγχορευταί, *companions in the choral dance*.

21. πρὸς, *in the name of*. — ὀλίγου δεῖν, *almost* (G. 268). — ἀπεκτόνασιν, v. ἀποκτείνω. — μηνί, v. μήν. — δέκα ἔτη, the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war, the Decelean war.

22. τῶν ἀποθανόντων, part. gen. after ἔστιν οὗς. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . καταδκρόσαμεν, *some of them we too greatly lamented*. — οἱ λοιποί, *the survivors* of the Thirty.

23. ξυνεκάθηντο, v. συγκάθημαι. — διεφέροντο, *disputed, wrangled*. — βιαιότερον (sc. τοῦ προσήκοντος), *unusually or unduly violent*.

Page 81. — τοῖς τριάκοντα, dat. after πείθεσθαι. — τὸ τελευταῖον, *finally* (G. 160, 2). — ἐκείνους καταπαῦσαι, *to depose them* (the Thirty).

24. Ἐλευσινάδε (G. 61), see § 8, above. — τῶν ἐν ἀστα, *things in the city* (gen. following ἐπεμύοντο). — ἐφωδεύοντο, *patrolled*. — τὸ μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας (G. 161), *after dark*. — τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑθρον, *but towards morning*, an exception to the preceding statement.

25. οἷτινες, [to] *whoever* : understand an anteced. dat. after ἔισθαι, depending on μεταδόντες, *pledging their faith, that all who, &c. should have equal rights*. The direct discourse would be [πᾶσιν] οἷτινες ἂν ξυμποληήσωσι, καὶ ἂν ξῖνοι ᾶσιν, *ισοτέλεια ἔσται*.

Many exiles came to their aid, others sent money or arms, — the orator Lysias sending two hundred shields and two thousand drachmas in money, and hiring, besides, 300 fresh soldiers ; there was one loan of five talents in money (\$ 5,000), afterwards repaid by the people.

26. ἔστιν οὔτε, *at times*. — ληστὰς ἔχαρουντο, *roughly handled foragers*. — Αἰξωνίων, *men from Aexone*, a town (or deme) on the coast of Attica. — πολλῶν ἰππέων, i. e. many of the men under Lysimachus.

27. τῶν ἰππέων, possessive gen. (sc. ὄντα) after Καλλίστρατον.

Page 82. — εἰ δὲ . . . δεῖ εἰπεῖν, *if I may be permitted to speak* : the apodosis (ἐρῶ, *I will speak*) is omitted. — τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ depends on τοῦτο. — κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον, *over the race-course leading from the Lyceum*. The Lyceum was a gymnasium just outside of the city walls on the east ; and it was used in the next century by Aristotle as his place of instruction, as the Academy was used by Plato (see note on II. 8, above).

For this reason the word is a familiar one in modern languages, though in a somewhat different meaning. — *δπου βούλοιο* (G. 248). — *τοῦ δρόμου*, partitive gen. after *δπου*. — *πράγματα*, *trouble*.

28. *δι . . . εἴη*, *that it was possible* (not *would be*) : the direct discourse was *οἷόν τι ἔστιν . . . ἂν ἀποκλασθῶσιν* (G. 223). — *αὐτοῖς*, the oligarchy at Athens.

29. *μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*, *were highly elated with hopes of Lysander*. — *προχωροῦντων* (sc. *τῶν πραγμάτων*), *when matters were thus going on*. — *εἰ . . . εὐδοκμήσοι . . . ποιήσοιτο* (G. 248, 2 ; 226, N.). — *ἐξάγει*, *withdraws* the Spartan garrison from Athens (see III. 13, above).

Lysander's selfish policy had already disgusted the general feeling of the Greeks ; and a party in Sparta, jealous of his authority, were resolved that he should not plant his own creatures a second time as rulers of Athens. On his arrival at Athens, Pausanias was beset with prayers for protection and redress by those who had suffered from the tyranny of the oligarchs, which strongly inclined him to make terms with the patriot party.

30. *δι ἐγίγνωσκον*, *because they were of opinion* : they suspected that Pausanias meant to make Attica a separate province of Sparta (*οἰκίαν καὶ πιστήν*). — *Ἀλιπείδω*, the low land near Piraeus.

Page 83. — 31. *ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν*, *to their homes*. — *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν*, *only for appearance's sake* (lit. *as far as shouting went*, implying *with no real purpose*). One preposition is superfluous, and the simpler *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* is found in later Greek. — *δῆλος . . . ὦν* (G. 280, N. 1). — *κωφὸν λιμένα*, *the still harbor*, probably the small cove west of the principal harbor of Piraeus. — *πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος*, i. e. where was the best line for blockading the Piraeus (i. e. on the side towards Athens).

32. *ἐνέντρας* (v. *ἐνέημι*), *at full speed*, used intransitively. — *τοὺς . . . ἡβης*, i. e. those who had been ten years of the military age ; referring to the *civic ἐφηβία*, which began in the eighteenth year.

33. *ἐπὶ πόδα*, *backward* (without turning). — *οἱ τεθαμμένοι* (v. *θίπτω*) *ἐν Κεραμακῇ*, i. e. *whose graves are in the Ceramicus*. The outer Ceramicus is described by Thucydides as "the most beautiful suburb" of Athens. It was northwest of the city, and the road to the Academy (see note on II. § 8, above) passed through it. On this road (as on the Roman Via Appia) were many monuments of illustrious men, especially of such as had fallen in battle.

34. *ἐπὶ ὀκτώ*, *eight deep*. — *ἐξέσθησαν*, v. *ἐξώθει*. — *ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς* : this must refer to the marshy district at the junction of Piraeus with the mainland, not to either of the Attic demes called Ἀλαί.

Page 84. — 35. *οὐδ' ὥς*, *not even under these circumstances* : *ὥς* for *οὔτως* is rare in Attic prose (G. 29, N.). — *οἷα* is object of *λέγοντας*, which belongs to *πρέσβεις*. — *διεστη*, *divided* (by making discord). "It seems plain that this is not a correct account. Pausanias did not create this dis-

cord, but found it already existing, and had to choose which of the parties he would adopt. The peace-party was already uppermost in Athens, and it was both easiest, and most for the Lacedaemonian interest, to follow the course he did." Grote.

36. νομίζεται, *it is according to [Spartan] custom.* — τῆς γνώμης ὄντες, *being of the opinion.*

37. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, *i. e. those representing the government*, the Ten (§§ 23, 24), the first embassy being sent by Pausanias. — χρῆσθαι ὃ π βούλονται, *to deal with as they pleased* (G. 248). — ἀξιοῦν, *thought fit.*

38. ἔχεν (G. 267). — ἀπιέναι, &c., *i. e. no man should be molested for past acts, except the Thirty, &c.*

39. διήκε (v. διήμι), *disbanded.*

Page 85. — 40. ἐκ τοῦ ἁστέος ἄνδρες, *i. e. those who had fought against Thrasylbulus.* — γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, *to come to know yourselves.* — ἐπὶ τίν . . . φρονητέον . . . ὥστε, *on what ground you have a right to be (so) presuming, as, &c.* — δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, *i. e. you have no claim on the score of justice.*

41. ἡ ὥς, *than the manner in which.* — οἱ γε would naturally be the subject of οἰχονται, but it is disregarded after the clause ὥσπερ . . . παραδιδόασιν, and κἀκεῖνοι is introduced (by *anacoluthon*) after οὕτω. The subject of παραδιδόασιν is τινὲς understood. — ἀπιόντες (G. 279, 2, N.).

42. ὁ ἄνδρες: here he addresses his own followers, who had just taken the oath in the Acropolis. — οὐ . . . ἀξιώ . . . παραβῆναι οὐδέν, *I adjure you not to violate any part of the oath which you have taken* (ὃν οὐδέν = οὐδὲν ἐκείνων &c.). Οὐκ ἀξιώ sometimes means *I ask some one not to do something* (like οὐ φημι, *I deny*): here οὐδέν (not μηδέν) merely repeats the negative idea expressed in οὐ . . . ἀξιώ. — ἐπιδείξαι depends on ἀξιώ (without οὐ).

43. ἀρχαί, *magistrates (authorities)*: the chief Archon then chosen, the *Eponymus* of the year 403 – 402, was Euclides, whose year is a famous era in Athenian history. — τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι: see § 24, above. — ἡ μὴν, a formula often prefixed to an oath. — μὴ μνησικακήσαν, *not to remember evil*, *i. e. they declared an amnesty* (α- and μνήστις). A part of the oath was as follows: καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά. — ὁμοῦ πολιτεύονται, *they conduct the government in harmony*, *i. e. the oligarchical party and the democracy.*

After these events, Athens was still left comparatively weak, disabled by the loss of her fortifications and of the long walls connecting the city with the port, until the great naval victory of Conon at Cnidus (B. C. 394) enabled him to rebuild the walls, and restore to the city something of its ancient glory and strength.

## [Book VII.]

THE peace of Antalcidas (B. C. 387) had left Sparta still supreme in Greece. But a few years later (B. C. 379) the patriot party in Thebes, by a fortunate surprise, expelled the Spartan garrison, and made the city independent. Under Epaminondas, her one great general and statesman, Thebes rapidly rose to power; and for nearly ten years after the great victory of Leuctra (B. C. 371) she held the first rank among the Grecian states. In 369 B. C. Epaminondas invaded the Peloponnesus, and established Arcadia as an independent power, with a strong military frontier against Sparta. It was to secure this that the second invasion was made, resulting in the battle of Mantinea, which closed the long period of the domestic wars of independent Greece. The battle of Mantinea was fought in 362 B. C.

Mantineia was a town about forty miles north of Sparta, and the head-quarters of the Peloponnesian army. Tegea was about ten miles farther south. Epaminondas had made a rapid march upon Sparta, and had actually entered the outskirts of the city, which was without walls; and, says Xenophon, "had not a Cretan providentially (*θειῶν τινὶ μοίρᾳ*) come and told Agesilaus that the army was at hand, he would have taken the city, all defenceless, like a nest of young birds. But Agesilaus was warned, and beforehand in the city; and the Spartans, though very few, held their ground in good order." At this point the narrative begins.

V. 11. Page 86. — ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο, *after he had entered, &c.* — ταύτῃ, antecedent of ὅπου. — βληθήσεσθαι, *to be hit with missiles.* — οὐδ' ὅπου . . . πολλοὶ ὄντες, *nor where they (the Thebans) being many would have no advantage in battle over the small number (of the enemy).* — τοῦτο λαβὼν . . . κατέβαινε, &c., i. e. *he took possession of this place (and held it until he was driven from it, as is described in § 12), and descended to the low land, without going up (farther) into the city.* Sparta was built on a line of hills along the right bank of the Eurotas. Epaminondas must have ascended these hills to enter even the outskirts of the city; and he was obliged to descend to the bank of the river to take the road to Tegea and Mantinea.

12. τὸ ἐντεῦθεν γινόμενον, *what ensued*, accusative (G. 160, 1) for the regular genitive (G. 173, 2): ἐντεῦθεν refers to χωρίον λαβὼν, not to κατέβαινε. — ἔξεστι, *we may.* — τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις (G. 187), *the desperate (lit. those who have lost all thought, i. e. for life).* — Ἀρχίδαμος, son of the great king Agesilaus. — ὅπου . . . κώλυμα, i. e. *difficult ground.* — πῦρ πνέοντες refers to the excitement of the Thebans on actually entering Sparta.

13. περιεγέγραπτο, *a limit had been set (lit. a line had been drawn).* — αὐτοῖς, the Spartans (see beginning of § 12).

14. οἱ Ἀρκάδες, i. e. the Peloponnesian army at Mantinea. — ἄλλως τε καί, especially. — εὐτυχηκόσι, victorious, in the conflict just narrated. — τῶν δέ, &c., while they (the Thebans) had failed (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — δεηθείς αὐτῶν, urging them.

Page 87. — εἰκός, sc. εἴη or ἔστιν. — ἔξω, abroad, exposed.

15. ἔξ Ἑλευσίνος: they had accordingly marched between fifty and sixty miles the first day; and after passing the night at the Isthmus, they had come nearly forty miles without food that day (ἀνάριστοι). — ἐτύχανον προσιόντες, i. e. they happened to arrive just as the Thebans were coming up from Sparta.

16. αἶ, as well, i. e. as that of the Spartans. — δυστυχήματος: the Corinthians were at peace with Thebes, and probably inflicted some annoyance on this hostile troop. — ὡς εἶδον: the Thebans were within a mile of the town. — συνέπραξαν (v. συρρήγνυμι), intransitive. — ἐρώντες, eager.

17. αἵτιοι . . . σωθῆναι, it was through them that the Mantineans saved all their out-door possessions. — ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί: among them was Gryllus, son of Xenophon, who was represented in a picture made at the time in the act of killing the Theban commander; hence the story that in the battle which followed he slew Epaminondas with his own hand. — δῆλον δι (sc. ἀπέκταναν), manifestly, is parenthetical, as usual. — οὐ πρόηκοντο (v. προήμα, G. 121, N. 2), i. e. did not leave unburied. — ἦν οὖς (G. 152, N. 2), some, imperfect of ἔστιν οἱ.

18. Ἐπαμεινώνδας would naturally be subject of some verb meaning thought: but after the long participial sentence, the construction changes to ἄστε οὐκ ἔδοκε αὐτῷ. — εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι οἷς ἦλθε . . . πολιορκήσουσι: the direct discourse would be εἰ καταλείψω οἷς ἦλθον (G. 247 with N. 2) . . . πολιορκήσονται. — ἔσοιτο λυλυμασμένος represents ἔσομαι λελυμασμένος, I shall have been ruined, periphrastic fut. perf. of λυμαίνω (G. 98, 2, N.; 113, N. 2): the fut. perf. act. is generally formed in this way.

Page 88. — τοῦ συνεστάναί, of the alliance (between those mentioned). — οὐκ . . . δυνατόν: as if he had come with any other object than fighting. — ἀναλίσκοντο, would make good (properly, undo, cancel, hence, restore to the former condition): see G. 199, 2. — πειρωμένῃ (sc. ἑαυτῇ), after καλῇ.

19. ὥς . . . ἀποκάμναν, so as to shrink from no labor (G. 286, N. 1).

20. ὥς . . . ἔσομένης, because, as he said, there was to be a battle (G. 277, N. 2; 278). — ἐπεγράφοντο . . . ῥόπαλα, probably, painted the figure of a club (as the arms of Thebes, in memory of Hercules as a Theban hero) on their shields, thus identifying themselves with the Thebans (ὡς Θεβαῖοι ὄντες). There is equally good authority for reading ῥόπαλα ἔχοντες, which would imply a sneer at the Arcadian "heavy-infantry," armed only with clubs (see Grote's note), and ἐπεγράφοντο would then seem to mean, they inscribed their shields (?) as if they were Thebans, i. e. with the letter Θ.

21. τὴν συντομωτάτην (sc. ὁδόν), *the directest way*. — τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη, *the hills on the west* are that part of the range of Maenalus which faces Tegea. The great eastern plain of Arcadia, which is two thousand feet above the sea and surrounded by high mountains, may be compared in its shape to an hour-glass, its two parts — the plain of Mantinea and the plain of Tegea — being separated by a narrow passage about a mile wide. When Epaminondas marched with the greater part of his army from Tegea (see § 14), instead of taking the direct road to Mantinea (ten miles distant), he turned to the left, approaching the hills which enclose the plain of Tegea on the northwest.

22. πρὸς τῇ ὁρῇ . . . ὑπὸ τοῖς ὕψηλοῖς refer to the part of Maenalus which was near the narrow pass leading into the valley of Mantinea.

Page 89. — ἐπὶ κέρως, *in column*. — τὸ ἑμβολον, *the attacking column*: ἑμβολον commonly means the pointed beak with which a ship makes an attack (see § 23). This attack was made from the Theban left wing. — πασισόμενοις (sc. τισίν), *men likely to suffer*.

23. ἀντίπρφρον, "*bores on*." — τῇ ἰσχυροτάτῃ, i. e. the Thebans and other Boeotians, under Epaminondas himself. — τὸ ἀσθενέστατον, i. e. the Argives. — ὥσπερ . . . βάθος, i. e. "only with the ordinary depth of a phalanx of hoplites (four, six, or perhaps eight deep)." Grote. — περὶ ἄμικτων, *infantry mixed with the cavalry*, light-armed, and running beside the horses.

24. νενικηκὼς ἕσσεσθαι, fut. perf. (see note on § 18, above, and G. 98, 2, N.). — ἐπειδὴν . . . ὀρώσι (G. 232, 3) refers to the fut. ἐβλήσονται as its apodosis: it might have been opt. (G. 248). — τὸ ἐχόμενον, *the next adjacent part of the army*. — ὥς . . . ἐπικείσονται (G. 202, 4) depends as indirect discourse on φόβον; *fear that these would attack them*, for the common construction, *fear lest they might attack*, φόβον μὴ ἐπικείντο. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 46, N. 6 (α). — εἰ βοηθήσαιεν represents εἰν βοηθήσωσιν of the direct discourse (G. 247). — συμβολήν, *the attack*.

Page 90. — 25. φυγόντων αὐτοῖς, *having taken flight for them* (G. 184, 3), i. e. when they had put them to flight. — διέπεσον, &c., *they slipped through the retreating enemy in their terror*. — ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐνόμου, i. e. of the enemy.

"The calculations of Epaminondas were completely realized. The irresistible charge, both of infantry and cavalry, made by himself with his left wing, not only defeated the troops immediately opposed, but caused the enemy's whole army to take flight. It was under these victorious circumstances, and while he was pressing on the retiring enemy at the head of his Theban column of infantry, that he received a mortal wound with a spear in the breast." Grote.

26. τοῦναντίον οὐ, *the opposite of what* (G. 153, N. 2).

27. οὐδὲν πλεον: the campaign of Mantinea, however, secured the



independence of the Arcadian allies of Thebes, and of the anti-Spartan frontier, including Messene.

The death of Epaminondas — one of the purest of patriots, and the most eminent military genius of Greece — was soon followed (361–360 B. C.) by that of Agesilaus, the last of the kings who maintained the ancient glory of Sparta. In the next year (360–359 B. C.) Philip of Macedon ascended the throne, and the whole course of Greek history was suddenly changed. The struggles for supremacy among the Greek states gave way to a long and hopeless struggle for independence, which ended in the fatal battle of Chaeronea (338 B. C.) and the subjugation of Greece to Macedonia.

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### MEMORABILIA.

THE trial and death of Socrates took place in the year B. C. 399. At this time Xenophon was still absent, on the expedition recorded in the "Anabasis." Soon after his return to Athens, while his grief and indignation were still fresh, he wrote that interesting defence of his master's reputation, and illustration of his manner of teaching, given in the "Memorabilia" (*Memorials*). In this work he begins with a full and distinct denial of the charges made at the trial, followed by personal anecdotes of Socrates and specimens of his conversation. Xenophon is chiefly anxious to prove that he was a good citizen, in religious belief as well as in way of life; while the later accounts given by Plato in his dialogues show him much more clearly as an original and independent thinker. Both agree in testifying the highest veneration and the warmest personal regard.

Socrates was about seventy years old when brought to trial. He had served the state as a soldier in several campaigns in the Peloponnesian war; and he once saved the life of Alcibiades — one account says, of Xenophon also — in battle. He also served as presiding officer in the public assembly when the generals who had been victorious at Arginusae (406 B. C.) were put on trial on the charge of neglecting the shipwrecked and the dead after the battle; and the cool determination of the old philosopher was never better shown than by his stern refusal to put the question of condemnation to the people in an illegal form. (See note on § 18, below.) He had also incurred the hate and distrust of the Thirty Tyrants by resisting their tyranny; and the revolution under Thrasybulus saved his life from their resentment.

The general feeling against Socrates was part of the conservative reaction after the democracy was restored. Twenty years before this time Aristophanes had ridiculed him in the "Clouds," as one of the contemptible but dangerous innovators in morals and belief; and the prejudice then so pointedly expressed seems to have been felt at the time of his trial. For at least a quarter of a century he had been in the habit of discussing with all sorts and conditions of men, in streets and public walks or at private entertainments, in a manner very pointed and free, on any question of opinion or practice that might come up. In particular, he was unsparing in forcing his antagonists to push their conclusions to absurd lengths, and driving them into a corner by his sharp questions. In this way he made some jealous and bitter enemies. Besides, he had been intimate with several men afterwards declared to be public enemies, — particularly Alcibiades, the most dangerous of politicians, and Critias, chief of the Thirty Tyrants. The formal charge against him was, that he did not acknowledge or worship the Gods whom the city worshipped, but introduced new divinities of his own; and that he corrupted the youth of Athens. Each of these counts is distinctly met and replied to in this defence, which gives us the most clear and interesting portrait that has been left us of any of the remarkable men of antiquity. The portion here given is the first chapter of the first book, with the closing paragraph of the work.

I. 1. τίσι λόγοις, *by what reasonings* (G. 149, 2). — οἱ γραψάμενοι, *those who made the charge*. The middle γράφεσθαι in Attic commonly means *to indict*. The accusers of Socrates were Meletus, a poet of poor reputation; Anytus, a wealthy tradesman, who resented the influence of Socrates to draw his son from his own trade of tanner; and Lycon, a popular orator and demagogue. Meletus is said to have been put to death, and the others banished, a few years later, when the people repented of their judgment. — ἡ γραφή, *the bill of indictment*. — τῇ πόλει (G. 184, 3).

Page 91. — οὓς . . . νομίζει, *not regarding as Gods those whom the city so regards*. See note on Anab. 4, II. 23.

2. ὡς ἐνόμιζεν depends on the verbal noun τεκμηρίω. — μαντικῇ, *divination*. — διετεβούλητο, *it was notorious*. — τὸ δαιμόνιον, *the divinity*: the *daemon* of Socrates, as he believed, manifested itself by signs or indications, never urging him to any act, but constantly warning him against things wrong or dangerous. — ὅθεν δῆ, *on which very ground, indeed*.

3. τῶν ἄλλων, *than others* [do]. — φήμαις, *omens from words*; συμβόλοις, *from signs or accidents*; θυσίαις, *from sacrifices*.

4. ξυνόντων, *associates*. — ὡς, *on the ground that* (G. 277, N. 2). — τοῖς . . . συντέφερε, *to those persuaded by him, it was an advantage*: μή (G. 283, 4). — μετέμελε, *repented* (G. 184, 2, N. 1).

5. *ἔδοκα ἄν, he would have seemed, supply εἶναι.* The imperfects here and in the next sentence refer to past time (G. 222). — *εἶτα, then, after all this.* — *ταῦτα, i. e. as to the future.*

6. *ἀλλὰ μὴν, but moreover.* — *τάδε, the following* (see G. 148, N. 1). — *τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, things which must be done,* opposed to *τὰ ἄδηλα* in the next clause. — *καὶ πράτταν :* the force of *καὶ* would be plainer here if *οὕτως* preceded, *as he believed, &c., so also to do them.*

Page 92. — *ἀριστ' ἄν πραχθῆναι = ἀριστ' ἄν πραχθείη* (G. 211). — *ὅπως ἀποβήσονται,* indirect question for *πῶς ἀποβήσεται ;* — *εἰ ποιητέα* (sc. *ἐστίν* or *εἴη*), *whether they* (i. e. *τὰ ἄδηλα*) *were to be done* (G. 281, 1).

7. *προσδεῖσθαι, needed besides.* — *τεκτονικόν, &c.* (pred. after *γενέσθαι*), *capable of building, &c.* — *ἀνθρώπων, gen. after ἀρχικόν, able to govern men* (G. 180, 1). — *πάντα . . . μαθήματα* repeats the preceding idea, *τεκτονικόν . . . γενέσθαι.* — *καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμη αἰρετέα εἶναι, could be grasped even by the mind of man, i. e. by man's mind without divine help.* The clause *τεκτονικόν μὲν, &c.* refers to the mere *acquisition* of these arts, as opposed to *τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις,* which follows.

8. *καταλείπεσθαι, reserved.* — *ὧν οὐδὲν εἶναι* (for *εἴη* or *ἐστί*), by assimilation to *καταλείπεσθαι* (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — *τῷ . . . λαβόντι, to him who has gained powerful connections by marriage in the state.* — *εἰ . . . στερήσεται, i. e. whether he will not be banished for being thus connected, in case of political troubles.*

9. *δαιμονῶν :* notice the play upon this word and *δαιμόνιον.* — *μαντευόμενους . . . διακρίνειν, who seek by divination [to know] what the Gods have granted to men to understand by learning.* — *οἷον, for example.* — *ἐπὶ ζεύγος, i. e. for taking charge of a team.* — *τὴν ναῦν, his ship.* — *ἃ ἔξεστιν . . . εἰδέναι, what may be known by counting, &c.* — *οἷς* (G. 152). — *ὥσιν* (G. 247 and 233). — *ὧερ, propitious* (G. 64).

Page 93. — 10. *περιπάτους, porches or public walks.* — *πληθοῦσης ἀγορᾶς, at the time of full market, towards noon* (G. 179, 1). — *ἔλεγε ὡς τὸ πολὺ, he was generally talking.*

11. *Σωκράτους, gen. after both εἶδεν and ἤκουσεν, by zeugma, taking the case required by ἤκουσεν.* — *τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως, about the nature of the universe.* — *ὅπως . . . ἔχα, how what sophists call the World (lit. Order) is constituted.* The sophists were professional teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, &c., whom it was the special delight of Socrates to convict of ignorance in what they assumed to teach. — *ἀνάγκαις, necessary laws.* — *μωραίνοντας* (G. 280).

12. *πρῶτον μὲν :* this corresponds to *ἐσκόπει δὲ* in § 15. — *αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει, he used to inquire, in regard to them, &c. :* *αὐτῶν* is a possessive gen. (G. 167, 1), depending on the following clause as on a substantive ; cf. *σκοπεῖν αὐτῶν τόδε, to examine this in (or about) them.* In § 15 we have *ἐσκόπει περὶ αὐτῶν.* — *πότερα . . . ἤ* (G. 282, 5). — *παρέντες* (v. *παρήμι*), *neglecting.*

13. *θαύμαζε εἰ, he wondered that* (G. 228), *not he wondered whether*. On the principle of indirect discourse we might have had *εἰ εἴη* here (G. 248, examples under 2). — *τοὺς μέγιστα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ, those who take most pride in.* — *δοξάζειν* depends on *εἴφη* implied in *θαύμαζε*: see, however, § 8, above. — *τοῖς μαινομένοις . . . διακείσθαι*, i. e. their relation to each other is like that of madmen (G. 186).

14. *τῶν . . . μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν, for of madmen, some, &c.* (G. 143, 1). — *οὐδ' . . . εἶναι, not to seem disgraceful, &c., even in public.* — *οὔτιν, anything whatever*: a relative becomes an indefinite by the addition of *-οὖν*. — *ἐξιτητέον εἶναι (= ἐξίεναι δεῖν), that they ought to come out* (G. 281, 2). — *τὰ τυχόντα, which they may chance to find*, i. e. *accidental*. — *τῶν τε . . . μεριμνώντων*, part. gen. (corresponding to *τῶν τε μαινομένων*, above) depending on *τοῖς μὲν* and *τοῖς δέ*, which is twice repeated. — *ἐν μόνον τὸ ὅν εἶναι, that all Being (τὸ ὅν) is but one*. — *ἄπειρα*, pred. after *εἶναι*, referring to *τὸ ὅν*, i. e. that Being has *countless forms*. — *οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινήθηναι, that nothing could under any circumstances (ποτέ) be moved (or move)*: the direct form would be *οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινήθῃ* (G. 211). This refers to the paradox of Zeno the Eleatic (460 B. C.), which attempted to show the impossibility of motion. — *γίνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι*, referring to the doctrine that all things are *generated (or created) and are (in time) destroyed*, as opposed to the doctrine that there can be neither generation nor decay in the universe. — *οὐτ' . . . ἀπολείσθαι, = οὐτ' ἂν γένοιτο . . . οὐτ' (ἂν) ἀπόλοιτο* (G. 212, 4). Socrates compares these opposing doctrines of the physical philosophers with the different opinions held by different madmen on the matters mentioned in the beginning of the section.

Page 94. — 15. *ἄρα* introduces a direct question (G. 282, 2): a second part of the same question is introduced by *ἦ*. In the former part, the leading clause is *οἱ . . . νομίζουσιν*. — *ποιήσαν ὃ τι ἂν μάθωσιν, that they are to practice (do) whatever they have learnt*; but *ποιήσαν ἀνέμους, &c., that they are to create winds, &c.* — *ἦ, how* (as indir. interrogative).

16. *τοιαῦτα*, i. e. as above. — *ἃ* is object of both *εἰδότες* and *ἀγνοοῦντας*, as is shown by the position of *μὲν* and *δέ*. — *δικαίως ἂν κεκληθῆναι (= κεκλημένοι ἂν εἶεν), would justly be called* (G. 211, and 200, N. 6).

17. *εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν, that they paid no regard to these* (G. 171, 2). See § 13 above.

18. *βουλευσας, chosen senator* (G. 200, N. 5), equivalent to *βουλευτὴς γενόμενος*. The Senate (*βουλὴ*) of Five Hundred was chosen annually by lot, and contained fifty members from each of the ten Attic tribes. Each set of fifty were called *Prytanes* (*πρυτάνεις*) during a tenth part of the year (called *πρυτανεία*); and it was then their duty to remain through the whole day in the Tholos (or *Rotunda*, near the Senate House), where their meals were provided them at the public expense. Every morning they chose one of their own number to be the *Epistates*, or President of the day, who (besides other duties) presided at any meeting of either the Senate or

the Assembly of the people which was held on that day. The Assembly met regularly on four days in each *prytany*; on other days, except holidays, the Senate met.\* It thus appears how Socrates, by being chosen senator for the year, happened to be the presiding officer in the Assembly (*ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γινόμενος*) on the day in question. It was the memorable day (in 406 B. C.) when the generals who had gained the naval battle of Arginusae were tried and condemned by the Athenian Assembly acting as a court. (See Grote, Chap. LXIV. ; and note on Hell. 2, III. 32, above.) — *ἦν . . . βουλευέσθαι* : one of the clauses in the senatorial oath was *κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλευέσθαι*, *I will act as a senator in accordance with the laws*. — *μὴ ψήφῳ*, *by a single vote* : the illegality against which Socrates protested was chiefly (if not wholly) that of condemning several persons by one decree. When Socrates refused to bring the illegal proposition (which had already passed the Senate) before the Assembly (*ἐπιψηφίσαι*), it seems that the other Prytanes interfered and appointed some less scrupulous member of their body to act as president. — *περὶ πλείονος*, *of greater account*.

19. οὐχ ὅν τρόπον, *not, however, as* (G. 160, 2, and 154).

Page 95. — 20. *τοιαῦτα . . . οἷά τις ἂν . . . εἴη*, *such, that any one saying and doing them would be, &c.* : *ἂν* belongs to both *εἴη* and *νομίζοιτο* (G. 212, 4), and *λέγων καὶ πράττων* contains the protasis, = *εἰ λέγοι καὶ πράττοι* (G. 226, 1).

IV. CHAP. VIII. — 11. *Σωκράτην . . . οἷος ἦν*, *accus. of anticipation* : cf. Mark i. 24, *οἶδά σε τίς εἰ*, "*I know thee who thou art.*" — *οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφίεμενοι* is limited by *τῶν γιννοσκόντων*. — *ποθοῦντες* (G. 279, 2, N.). — *ὡς ὄντα* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐμοί*, *dat. after εἶδομαι* (in the tenth line below). — *οὕτως* is understood with *δίκαιος, ἐγκρατής, &c.* — *παραβάλλον . . . κρινέτω*, *let him compare the character of some other man with these* (i. e. the qualities just mentioned) *and then (οὕτως) judge*.

## PLATO.—1. APOLOGY.

The "Apology" of Plato probably contains very nearly the actual defence spoken by Socrates before his judges. It is not a formal reply to the indictment, but a protest against the falsehood of the charge

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\* In the following century, in the time of Demosthenes, we find a different system, by which the Epistates chose by lot nine senators daily, one from each of the tribes except his own, who were called *πρόεδροι* and presided (as a board) in both Senate and Assembly.

in general.\* Socrates claims that, so far from being a disbeliever in the Gods, he was fulfilling an express divine commission in instructing his fellow-citizens; nay, if his life should be spared on condition of refraining, he could not so disobey the command of the divinity. The Delphic oracle had pronounced that there was no wiser man than he. Astonished at this, he had tried to satisfy himself what it meant; until he learned that his wisdom consisted in knowing his own ignorance, and in the wish to learn. He had never professed to be a teacher; he had no part in the opinion of such natural philosophers as Anaxagoras; he had never received pay for his teaching, like the "Sophists"; he had done the duties of a good soldier and citizen, in the face of danger and public prejudice; he could have had no motive — as he shows in a brief dialogue with his principal accuser, Meletus — to mislead or injure any of the young men who came under his influence. These are the main points of this celebrated Defence, which he closes by distinctly, even haughtily, refusing any appeal to the compassion of his judges to violate their oath requiring an honest verdict, for this would be practical atheism; and by "leaving it to them and to God to judge concerning him, as should be best both for him and them."

The Defence, thus far, occupies about three fourths of the "Apology." When it was closed, Socrates was declared guilty by a majority of about 60 out of 501 votes. The penalty proposed by his prosecutors was death. But, in the class of trials to which this belonged, the defendant was called on to propose a penalty for himself, the court appearing to be bound by custom, if not by law, to choose between the penalties thus proposed. If Socrates had now proposed a sentence which the court had been likely to accept, his life would doubtless have been spared. Instead of this, he first proposed a public maintenance in the Prytaneum, — the city hall, where the hospitalities of the state were given to foreign ambassadors and other public guests, and where certain private citizens, as a reward for special services, were allowed to take their meals at the public table, — the highest civil honor which could be paid. He next declared that a life spent in exile, or under restraint of free speech, would be more intolerable than death; and finally proposed, as a money fine, *one mina* (about seventeen dollars), which, at his friends' suggestion, he increased to thirty minae. Upon this, the vote of the court was again taken, and the death penalty was decreed by a majority which (ac-

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\* The genuine indictment is given by Xenophon in the first section of the *Memorabilia*. See page 91.

cording to one account) was larger by eighty votes than that by which he was found guilty at first.

The portion of the *Apology* here given contains the last words of Socrates before his judges, spoken after the sentence of death had been pronounced.

Page 96. — 1. οὐ . . . χρόνου, *for the sake of no long time*, since Socrates was now an old man. — ὥς . . . ἀπεκτόνατε, indirect discourse after the idea of *saying* implied in ὄνομα ἔχετε καὶ αἰτίαν. — ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, *of itself*. — πόρρω τοῦ βίου, *advanced in life* (G. 168) : his age is said to be advanced, and near death. — ἐμοῦ . . . θάνατον (G. 173, 2, N.).

2. ἀπορία . . . τοιούτων, *have been condemned through lack of such words, &c.* — πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, *not at all*. — τοῦ ἐθέλειν, one of the genitives depending on ἀπορία — ἀκούειν (G. 261, 2). — θρηνοῦντος, &c. (G. 277, 6) : these words explain λέγαν, &c.

3. τότε, *then*, in making my defence. — ἀνελεύθερον, *slavish* (unworthy of a freeman). — ἀπολογησαμένῳ (G. 277, 2 ; 184, 2, N. 1). — ἐκείνως, *so*, i. e. by an unworthy defence. — ὅπως ἀποφεύγεται (G. 217). — πᾶν ποιῶν, *by any and every means*. — ἀφ' ἑσῆς (G. 277, 2).

Page 97. — 4. μὴ οὐ ᾗ (G. 218, N. 2). — πονηρίαν, sc. ἐκφυγεῖν. — θάπτον . . . θεί, *baseness runs faster than death*. — ὅτε ὦν, *as being* (G. 277, N. 2). — ἔπὸ τοῦ βραδυτέρου ἔλθων, *I have been (was) overtaken by the slower* (Death). — ὀφλῶν, *convicted* (v. ὀφλισκᾶν) : lit. *failing* in a suit, and so condemned to pay the debt or penalty ; here, *death* (θανάτου). We find ὀφλεῖν ζημίαν, *to incur a penalty* ; ὀφλεῖν χρήματα, *to incur a fine* (as ὀφλε χιλίας δραχμάς, in the former part of the defence) ; ὀφλεῖν κλοπῆς δίκην (also ὀφλεῖν κλοπῆς), *to be convicted on a charge of theft* ; ὀφλεῖν γέλωτα, αἰσχύνην, *to incur laughter, disgrace* ; ὀφλεῖν μωρίαν, *to incur the charge of folly* : so ὀφληκότος μοχθηρίαν, below. — τῷ τιμήματι, *the sentence* (the result of τίμησις, which is the act of settling the amount or kind of penalty). — οὕτω σχεῖν, *to come out thus*. — μετρίως, *well enough*.

5. χρησμοφῆσαι, *to utter my oracle*. — ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι (G. 202, 3, N.), depending on χρησμοδοῦσιν, where we should expect a phrase meaning simply *at the point of death*, explaining ἐνταῦθα. — οἶαν (sc. τιμωρίαν) is cognate accus. after ἀπεκτόνατε, *such punishment as you have inflicted in condemning me to death*. — τοῦ διδόναι (G. 262, 2). — τὸ δέ, *but the fact* (G. 143, 1, N. 2).

6. ἀποκτείνοντες (G. 138, N. 8). — τοῦ ὀναδίζαν (G. 263, 1). — ἡμῶν (G. 184, 2). — οὐ . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε (G. 283, 8). — ὅπως ἔσται (G. 217).

Page 98. — 7. ἐν ᾧ . . . ἀγούσι, *while the officers are busy*. — οἷ, *whither*, i. e. to the prison. — διαμυθολογῆσαι, *to have a talk* ; opposed to the formal judicial arguments which had preceded. — τί ποτε νοεῖ, *what it means*.

8. δικασταί : his address before had been "Athenians" ; to those who voted justly he now speaks as "Judges." — ἐωθῖα (v. ἔθω), *accustomed*. — τοῦ δαιμονίου : Socrates believed that there was a divine voice within him

(*δαιμόνιον* τι), which often warned him *not* to do certain things, but never urged him to any positive act. — πάνυ ἐπὶ σμικροῖς, *in very little things*. — εἰ τι μέλλοιμι (G. 225). — οἴηθείη ἄν τις, *one might think*. — καὶ νομίζεται, and (what) is generally thought, & (as nom.) being understood.

9. λέγοντα μεταξὺ (G. 277, N. 1).

10. κινδυνεύει . . . γαγονέναι, *seems likely to be* (lit. *runs a risk of being*). Plato uses κινδυνεύω nearly in the sense of δοκέω, so that the infin. after it stands in indirect discourse (G. 203), as here. — οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως, *it is not (possible) that, &c.*

11. δυοῖν θάτερον, *one of two things*. — οἷον μὴδὲν εἶναι, (such) *as to be nothing* (i. e. like annihilation). — τὰ λεγόμενα, *the common saying*.

Page 99. — 12. μὴδ' ὅναρ μὴδὲν, *not even any dream*. — ἐπαδὼν . . . ὄρεται depends on ἐστὶ understood with ὕπνος (G. 233). For the whole sentence, see G. 227, 1. — ἐγὼ γὰρ ἄν οἶμαι : the force of ἄν falls upon εἴπειν, several lines below, where it is twice repeated (G. 212, 2) : οἶμαι is also repeated after the long protasis, and δέοι is repeated before σκεψάμενον. — The sentence reads, *I think, if one were obliged to select that night in which he slept so soundly as to have no dream at all, and, comparing with that night the other nights and days of his life, were obliged to examine and say how many days and nights in his life he had lived better than that night, (I think) not only any private person, but the great King would himself find these easy to count (i. e. very few), compared with his other days and nights*. The conditional sentence (without οἶμαι) would be : εἰ δέοι τινα . . . εἴπειν, εὖροι ἄν. μὴ ὅτι is elliptical for μὴ λέγωμεν ὅτι (*let us not say that, &c.*), *not to speak of, i. e. not merely* ; it is often used, as here, where ὅτι forms no part of the construction of the sentence, and where the origin of the expression was probably not thought of.

13. οὐδὲν πλείων, *no longer*. — εἰ δ' αὖ, *but if, on the other hand*. — οἷον ἀποδημήσαι, *like a migration*.

14. "Αἰδου (sc. δῶμα), *the (realm) of Death, or Hades*. For the proper names which follow, see a classical dictionary ; Triptolemus was not usually counted one of the judges in Hades, and Socrates probably follows some local Attic myth. — ἐγένοντο, *proved themselves*. — ἐπὶ πόσῳ, *at what price ?*

15. ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ, *to myself also*. — ὅποτε ἐντύχοιμι, *when I should meet* (G. 232, 4), like εἰ ποτε ἐντύχοιμι. — διὰ κρίσιν ἄδικον, *in consequence of an unjust judgment* : referring to the contest for the armor of Achilles between Odysseus and Ajax, after which the defeated Ajax killed himself ; this is the subject of the *Ajax* of Sophocles. — ἐξετάζοντα : Socrates delights in the thought that he can go on *examining* and cross-questioning and exposing false pretensions to wisdom in Hades, as he had done in Athens.

Page 100. — 16. τὸν . . . ἀγαγόντα, i. e. Agamemnon. — ἡ Σίσυφον, ἢ = ἄλλους μυρίους (as the sentence might be written) : instead of con-



tinuing the question by adding other names, he changes the form of the sentence, and adds, *one might mention ten thousand others, &c.* — οἷς is the object of ἐξετάζειν only by *zeugma*. — ἀμήχανον εὐδαιμονίας, *a vast amount of joy*. — οἱ ἐκεῖ, i. e. those who dwell below. — τούτου ἕνεκα, i. e. especially τοῦ ἐξετάζειν, for which Socrates implies that he is to suffer death.

17. οὕτε . . . τελευτήσαντι, *either during life (pres.) or after death (aor.)*. — ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, *of its own accord, i. e. by chance*. — ἀπηλλάχθαι πραγμάτων, *to be free (lit. to have been freed, G. 202, 2) from troubles*. — τὸ σημεῖον, *the divine sign*, the same as τὸ δαμόνιον. — τοῖς κατηγοροῖς (G. 184, 2). — οἰόμενοι βλάπτειν, *thinking that they were doing me an injury* (G. 203). — τοῦτο αὐτοῖς μέμφεσθαι : τοῦτο is cognate acc.; for αὐτοῖς, see G. 184, 2. μέμφομαι sometimes takes the simple object-accusative.

18. δέομαι (G. 172, N. 1). — τιμωρήσασθε, *take your vengeance on*. — ταῦτα ταῦτα λυποῦντες, *vexing them in this same way* (G. 159, N. 4). — ἐὰν . . . ὄντες, *if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing*. — ὀναδίξετε αὐτοῖς (G. 184, 2). — ἂν δέ, sc. ἐπιμελίσθαι. — οὐδενός : compare this use of οὐδέν in a causal sentence with μὴδὲν ὄντες in the conditional sentence above (see G. 283, 1 and 2). — δίκαια πεπονθὼς ἔσομαι, *I shall have been justly treated* (G. 98, 2, N.). — αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ υἱεῖς, *both myself and my sons*; apposition, as if the latter were included in ἐγώ. — ὥρα ἀπέρχεται, *time to depart* (G. 261, 1, N.).

The circumstances of the imprisonment of Socrates, and the occasion of the long delay in the execution of his sentence, are given in the extract from the "Phaedo" which follows.

## 2. PHAEDO.

DURING his thirty days' confinement, Socrates was freely visited by his friends in prison. As the time of his execution drew near, they were anxious for his escape; and one of them, Crito, a man of wealth, and near his own age, had prepared a plan of rescue, with the connivance of the friendly jailer. Socrates, however, refused to avoid his fate, on the ground that the highest duty of a citizen, especially in a free state, is absolute obedience to the laws, accepting his sentence as the voice of the State itself,—which he sets forth in the brief dialogue called "Crito." On the morning of the day of execution, several of his friends gathered in his prison,—among them Phaedo, who afterwards tells his friend Echecrates and others the occurrences of the day in the Dialogue bearing his name. Much the largest part of it is taken up with discussing the views of Socrates on the nature and immortality of the soul. The portion here given

is the introductory narrative, and the conclusion, containing that story of his last hours, "which," says Cicero, "I often read with tears." \*

The dialogue between Phaedo and Echecrates is supposed to take place at Phlius in Peloponnesus, the home of Echecrates.

Page 101. — 1. ἡ . . . ἤκουσας; or did you hear it from some one else? — αὐτός: Phaedo was a citizen of Elis, a disciple of Socrates, and afterwards the head of a philosophical school in his native place. — τῶν πολιτῶν Φλιασίων οὐδεὶς, no one of the citizens — Phliasians: the position of Φλιασίων shows that it is not a mere adjective. — ἐπιχωριάζει Ἀθήναζε, ever goes to Athens to live at all (πάνν τι).

2. ἐστεμμένη, γ. στέφαν, wreathed with laurel, which was sacred to Apollo. — πέμπουσι, send in state, i. e. every year. — θεωρία, a sacred embassy.

3. τοὺς δὲς ἑπτα ἐκάονους, the well-known fourteen, i. e. the seven virgins and seven youths whom the Athenians were obliged to send once in nine years to Minos of Crete, to be devoured by the Minotaur in the Labyrinth. The sacred trireme, the *Delias*, which carried the deputation to Delos, was believed to be the same vessel which carried Theseus to Crete. For the account of the voyage of Theseus, the death of the Minotaur, and the escape of Theseus with the victims by the help of Ariadne, see a classical dictionary under *Theseus*, and Plutarch's Life of Theseus, § 15. — ἐλ σωθεῖεν . . . ἀπάξαν (G. 247). — καὶ νῦν ἐτι: "the custom was continued," says Plutarch, "to the time of Demetrius Phalereus," i. e. till about B. C. 300. — ἐπαδὼν ἀρξάνται (G. 233). — μηδένα . . . πρὶν ἂν (G. 240).

Page 102. — τόχωσιν ἀπολαβόντες, happen to hinder them (G. 279, 2): compare ἐτυχεν . . . γεγονός (below), happened to have been done (perf.).

4. τὸ μνησθαι, to commemorate, i. e. in conversation, as he explains it in αὐτὸν (sc. ἐμὲ) λέγοντα καὶ ἄλλου ἀκούοντα. — ὥς ἂν δύνῃ (G. 232, 3) ἀκριβέστατα, as accurately as you can: by omitting ἂν δύνῃ, we have the usual form ὥς ἀκριβέστατα (see ὥς σαφέστατα, above).

5. θαυμάσια ἔπαθον, I was marvellously affected. — ἔλεος εἰσῆλθε, did pity enter [my mind]. — τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων, causal gen. after εὐδαίμων (G. 173, 1). — ὥς (= ὅτι οὕτως), i. e. he did so fearlessly, &c. (G. 238). — ὥστε . . . παρίστασθαι, so that it came into my mind, that he, &c. — λέναι and πράξαν are both futures after παρίστασθαι (G. 203). — ἀνευ θείας μόρας, i. e. uncared for by the Gods. — εἰκὸς παρόντι πίνθει, natural to one present at suffering. — ἡδονή, sc. εἰσῆλθε. — ὥς . . . ὄντων, i. e. from the thought that we were engaged in philosophical discussion (G. 277, n. 2). — τοιοῦτοί τινες, on some such subject (i. e. as philosophy). — ἀτεχνῶς, absolutely or simply.

\* Cuius mortis illacrimari soleo, Platonem legens. Nat. Deor. III. 33.

Page 102. — ἐθιμονόμην, agreeing with μοι, *whom I reflected*. — ὅτε μὲν . . . ἐνίοτε δέ, *at one time, and at another*: notice the accent of ὅτε (not ὅστε) when it has this sense. — Ἀπολλόδωρος: he was a man of melancholy and excitable temper, sometimes called *the fanatic*. Among those mentioned as present at the death of Socrates are Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynics; Aristippus, the founder of the Cyrenaic school; and Euclides, the founder of the Megaric school of philosophy.

6. Αἰγίνη, in *Aegina* (G. 190, N.). — σχίδον τι . . . παραγνίσθαι, *I am very sure that these made up the company*.

7. ὥς ἀνοιχθείη (G. 239, 2): see ἐπαδὴ ἀνοιχθείη, below.

Page 104. — 8. εἶπε περιμέναν (G. 260, 2, N. 1), *he bade us wait* (εἶπε περιμέναν would mean *he said he was waiting*). — ὥς ἂν . . . καλέσῃ, *until he should himself give us orders*: ὥς . . . καλέσσει might have been used after the past tense (G. 248). — λύουσι: from this it appears that Socrates had been kept chained. — παραγγέλλουσιν, *they are giving him directions*. — ὅπως ἂν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — εἰσόντες, *as we entered*. — Ξανθίππη, the well-known termagant wife of Socrates. — ἀνευφήμησε, *uttered cries of lamentation*, such as were held to be of bad omen: the word is taken, as similar words often were, in the opposite of its proper sense. Thus the *left*, which was ill-omened, was called εὐάννημον, *good-omened*. — ὅτι before a direct quotation (G. 241, 1). — τῶν τοῦ Κρίτωνος, *of Crito's attendants*.

9. ὥς . . . εἶναι, *how curiously it is related to what seems its opposite*. — τῷ . . . παραγίνεσθαι, *that they will not come to a man together*: τῷ belongs also to ἀναγκάζεσθαι (G. 262, 2). — συνημμένῳ (ν. συνάπτῳ), i. e. *attached to one head*. — δύο' ὄντε, *while they are two*. — μῦθον ἂν συνθεῖναι (= μῦθον ἂν συνέθῃ), *he would have composed a fable* (G. 211).

Page 105. — ᾧ ἂν παραγίνηται (G. 233). — ὥσπερ . . . τοίκεν, *as then I too believe* (i. e. I, as Aesop would have done). — ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ, *on account of the chain*. — ἦκεν φαίνεται, *appears to have come*: φαίνομαι generally takes the participle.

10. ἀναμνήσας: for the peculiar use of the aorist partic., see G. 204, N. 2. — ἐντεῖνας (τόνος), *versifying*. — τὸ . . . προόμιον, the *proemium* (or hymn used at the beginning of a festival) *in honor of Apollo*: the Homeric Hymn to Apollo is an example of such a poem. — καὶ ἄλλοι . . . Εὐκηνός, *not only had certain others previously asked me, but also Eucemus, &c.* — ὃ τι διανοηθεὶς, *with what intention*. — σοι μέλα τοῦ ἔχεν (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — ἐμὲ is subject of ἔχεν.

11. ἀντίτεχνος, *rival*. — τί λέγει, (to see) *what they meant*. — ἀφοσιώμενος . . . ποιεῖν, *clearing my conscience in case they (the dreams) should perchance command me to compose music of this kind* (G. 248, 2). — ἄλλοτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ ὄψα, *at different times in different shapes*.

12. αὐτό, *it*, i. e. the vision, subject of παρακαλεῖσθαι (to urge one to the act) and ἐπικαλεῖσθαι (to cheer one in the act). — τοῖς θίουσιν, *runners in a race*. — καὶ ἐμοὶ . . . ἐπικαλεῖσθαι: supply ἐπελάμβανον from the preceding

clause : ἐμοί follows ἐπικαλεῖαν. — ὡς . . . οὕτως (G. 277, N. 2) : this contains the ground on which the vision urged Socrates. — μεγίστης μουσικῆς, the highest form of music, i. e. music in its wide Greek sense, including all literature and accomplishments. — τοῦτο πράττοντος, making this (philosophy) my business : cf. Lat. *hoc agere* and *aliud agere*. — πρὶν ἀφοσιώσασθαι, before performing my pious duty, = δῶτα ποιῆσαι : πρὶν here takes the infinitive, when it might have taken the subjunctive or optative as depending on a negative sentence (G. 240, 2).

Page 106. — ποιήσαντα and παθόμενον denote the means.

13. μύθους ἀλλ' οὐ λόγους, fables, but not [mere] narratives : here μῦθος has its special sense of fables, and λόγοι its wider sense of narratives, while above (§ 10) Aesop's fables are called by Cebes by the more general name of λόγοι. — οὐκ ἦ (sc. ἐγώ) represents the same in the direct discourse (G. 243, N. 1). — τούτους ἐποίησα, I put these into verse. — οἷς πρώτους ἐνέτυχον, the first which I came upon (for τοὺς πρώτους οἷς ἐνέτυχον), added as further explanation of τούτους, to which the principal relative clause οὗς . . . Αἰσώπου also belongs. — ταῦτα φράξ, καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι, tell him this, and also (bid him) farewell.

14. οἶον is exclamatory (G. 155). — ἐκὼν εἶναι, a peculiar phrase in which εἶναι seems superfluous, meaning willingly (G. 268, N.). — ὅτε . . . μέτεστιν, who worthily shares in this thing (philosophy). — βιάσεται αὐτόν, i. e. by committing suicide : the first part of the following discussion (here omitted) refers to suicide, against which the authority of Philolāus (a celebrated Pythagorean) is quoted.

15. ἀμα λέγων (G. 277, N. 1). — τὸ μὴ θεμιτὸν εἶναι (G. 262, 2) differs very slightly in meaning from οὐ θεμιτὸν εἶναι in indirect discourse : it means its not being right. In the following clause, ἐθέλειαν ἂν (= ἐθέλοι ἂν) depends directly on λέγας : that the philosopher should be willing (G. 226, 2) to follow, &c. — μυθολογεῖν, to talk (familiarly) : see Apology, § 7.

Here follows the celebrated dialogue on Immortality, ending with a striking parable, or myth, which sets forth the Greek imagery of the judgments of the future world, where "they who are sufficiently purified by philosophy live without the body forevermore, and come into dwellings fairer than these, which it were not not easy to describe, nor is there time enough at present."

Page 107. — 16. τούτων, &c. referring to the discourse just ended. — καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀθλόν, for noble is the reward. — φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, i. e. as a tragedian would express it. — λουσάμενον, after bathing. — λούειν depends on the verbal idea in πράγματα, as we often say, to take the trouble to do a thing.

17. εἰεν, well then (lit. let this be as it is, G. 251, 1). — ἐπιστάλλας is appropriately used of the last commands of one about to die. — ὅ τι ἂν . . .

ποιοῖμεν, i. e. *which we should especially gratify you by doing*: ἄν belongs to ποιοῖμεν. — οὐδὲν καινότερον, in English, simply = *nothing new*. — ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι = ἂν . . . ἐπιμελήσθε, corresponding to ἂν δε ὑμῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀμελήτε, below (G. 226, 1): in the latter clause μὲν is irregular, and is omitted in many MSS. — οὐδ' ἂν ὁμολογήσητε, *not even if you assent, &c.* — πλεον ποιεῖν = *to profit*.

18. ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε, *as you please* (G. 232, 3). — ἐρωτᾷ . . . θάπτη, *he asks how he shall bury me*: the subjunctive here represents the interrogative subjunctive πῶς θάπτω; (G. 256) of the direct question, as it is seen above in θάπτομεν, &c. (G. 244). — ἄλλως λέγειν: ἄλλως is here equivalent to μάτην, *idly*, or *without meaning*.

Page 108. — 19. ἐγγύην (G. 159, N. 4). — οὗτος . . . παραμενεῖν, *for he [gave surety in court] that I would remain*, i. e. *would not escape*: ἡ μὴν is especially used in oaths and other solemn statements. — οἰχήσεσθαι ἀπίοντα (G. 203, N. 2) represents οἰχήσομαι ἀπίων of the direct discourse (G. 279, 2, N.). — ὥς . . . Σωκράτη, *that it is SOCRATES that he lays out for burial*. — ἡ δ' ὅς (G. 151, N. 3). — τὸ . . . λέγειν, &c. *to speak wrongly is not merely a mistake as regards the act itself*. — καὶ θάπτειν (sc. χρῆ) οὕτως, &c. *and [you must] bury it in such a way as shall be, &c.* (G. 232, 3).

20. ἀνίστατο|εις οἰκημὰ τι, *arose [and went] into a room*. — ὅση (sc. ἡ ξυμφορὰ) . . . εἴη, i. e. *how heavy [a calamity] had befallen us*: indirect question. — ἀτεχνῶς . . . στερηθέντες, *exactly as [we should have done] if we had been bereft of a father* (G. 277, N. 3: 226, 1). — οἰκία, *of the family*.

21. ὅπερ ἄλλων καταγιγνώσκω, *(the fault) which I find with others* (G. 173, 2, N.). — ἐπειδὰν παραγγέλλω (G. 233), referring to different cases.

Page 109. — ἀλλ' ἐκείνους, sc. τοῖς αἰτίοις.

22. εἰ τέτριπται, *if it is mixed*. The hemlock was first bruised in a mortar; hence the use of τριβω. — ὁ ἄνθρωπος (at end), i. e. a servant.

23. πίνοντας, sc. τὸ φάρμακον (G. 280). — ἐπειδὰν παραγγελθῇ, *after the order has been given them*, depends directly on the following participles, δαπνήσαντας, &c., but indirectly on πίνοντας, which is frequentative. — οὐδὲν . . . ὀφλήσειν, *that I gain nothing except [this] that I shall make myself ridiculous in my own estimation*: see note on Apol. § 4. — φειδόμενος . . . ἐνόντος, *sparing when nothing is left*. Hesiod (Works and Days, 367) says, δειλὴ δ' ἐνὶ πυθμένι φείβω, which Seneca thus translates: *Sera parsimonia in fundo est*; 'it is a sorry thrift at the bottom of the cup, i. e. when only the dregs are left'.

Page 110. — 24. ἕως ἂν . . . γίνηται, *until a heaviness shall be felt* (G. 239, 2). — καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ, *and then it [the poison] will do its own work*: αὐτό is nominative (G. 145, 1).

25. καὶ δε (G. 151, N. 3). — τοῦ χρώματος (G. 170, 1). — ταυρηδόν, *fixedly*. — πρὸς τὸ ἀποσπείσαι, *as regards pouring a libation from it*. —

γνίσθαι, after εἶχεσθαι (G. 203, N. 2). — γέναιτο (G. 251, 1). — ἐπισχόμενος (ν. ἐπέχω), *holding it* (to his lips).

26. τὸ μὴ δακρύναι (G. 263, 2). — ἐμοὶ γε βιά καὶ αὐτοῦ, *even in spite of myself*. — οἷου = ὅτι τοιοῦτου (G. 238). — ἐσπρημένος εἶην (G. 248 ; cf. 250, Note). — ἀναβρυχησάμενος, *sobbing aloud*. — οὐδένα ὄντινα οὐ (G. 153, N. 4), *every one*. — κατέκλασε, *pierced to the heart* (lit. broke). — ἐν εὐφημίᾳ, here in a negative sense, when no sounds of evil omen are heard : a common proclamation of silence before a religious ceremony was εὐφημία ἔστω. The saying ἐν εὐφημίᾳ χρή τελευτᾶν is called Pythagorean. — τοῦ δακρύναι : after ἐπέσχομεν we might have had τοῦ μὴ δακρύναι without change of meaning (G. 263, 1).

Page 111. — 27. οὗτος ὁ δοῦς, *this man* [of whom I spoke] *who had given*, &c. — διαλιπὼν χρόνον, *from time to time* : see note on the same expression in § 28. — ἐπανιών, *going upwards*. — ὅτι ψύχεται, *that he was becoming cold*. — αὐτὸς ἤπτετο, *he felt of himself*. — τότε οἰχθήσεται, *then he should be gone* (in direct discourse οἰχέσθαι), one of the phrases used by the Greeks to avoid the mention of death. — Ἀσκληπιῷ ἄλεκτρύονα : those who recovered from sickness often sacrificed a cock to Aesculapius ; so Socrates proposes this sacrifice in gratitude for his release from life. — μὴ ἀμελήσῃτε (G. 254).

28. ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν, *after a little while* : the same phrase is general (= *at intervals*) as used above, because there it is joined with the imperfect διεσκόπεα. — καὶ ἔς, i. e. Socrates. — ἔστησεν is active, and the meaning is, *his eyes became fixed*. — ξυνέλαβε, *closed*. — τῶν τότε . . . ἀρίστων, *the best of his time whom we knew*.

## HERODOTUS.

THE chief events of the great Persian Wars are the capture of Euboea and the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490 ; the defence of Thermopylae and the sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis, B. C. 480 ; and the battles of Plataea and Mycale in the following year. The narrative of these events makes the most interesting and important part of the History composed by Herodotus in the generation immediately following.

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, one of the Doric cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, about the year 484 B. C. In his manhood he travelled extensively in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, a keen, intelligent, and accurate observer. His history is one of the earliest, and is much the most curious and interesting, of our sources of knowl-

edge as to the countries, people, customs, history, local politics, and family traditions of the century before his own day. It is in nine Books, named for the nine Muses. It is full of illustrations of the religious beliefs, omens, oracles, customs, and feelings of the time. The conflict between Asia and Europe appears in Herodotus as part of a great drama, in which the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war had been successive acts, which was watched at every point and guided by the manifest direction of the Gods; while in the earlier parts of his History he is constantly tracing proofs of that divine judgment, which humbles the pride and punishes the crimes of men.

Asia Minor, with the Greek colonies on its western coast, had been added to the Persian dominions by Cyrus the Great, who conquered Croesus, king of Lydia, B. C. 546. About the year B. C. 500, the Ionic cities, with Miletus at their head, revolted against the Persian rule; and, with the help of allies from Greece, especially the Athenians, captured and burned the Lydian capital, Sardis. The war continued about six years, and ended in a complete Persian victory. The Ionic city of Miletus was captured and reduced to slavery, to the passionate grief of its generous allies in Athens. But the attention of the Persians had been drawn to the free states and islands towards the west, and these hostilities led the way to their two formidable invasions. Meanwhile the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had been driven from Athens (B. C. 510), and had taken refuge at the Persian court. He was now a feeble old man; but his hate of the Athenians and desire of revenge made him eager to serve the invader, whom he accompanied himself to the plain of Marathon.

Although Herodotus was a Dorian by birth, he wrote his History in Ionic Greek. His intercourse with the Ionic cities in his immediate neighborhood must have made him familiar with their speech, even if we reject the account given by Suidas of his long residence as an exile in the Ionic island of Samos. But he probably chose the Ionic dialect chiefly because it had been used by the historians or annalists who preceded him. The dialect of Herodotus is known as the *New Ionic*, which, where it differs from the Attic, is very similar to the Old Ionic of Homer. Its general peculiarities should be learnt by the beginner from the grammar.\* Others will be seen in the Lexicon; as the use of  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in  $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., for  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., and the interchange of aspirates in  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ , for  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . The chief peculiarity in syntax is the use of

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\* See G. p. xix; §§ 30; 39; 44; 59; 67, Note 1; 70; Notes to 76-86; 122; 124; 128; Notes to 129 and 130; 140, Note 4; 148, Note 4. Much of the detail in the notes can be learnt by practice while reading.

the forms of the article beginning with *τ* as relative pronouns (G. 140, π. 4), which must be kept constantly in mind.

The story of the Persian Wars is begun in the sixth book of Herodotus, and is continued in the three following books. The extracts here given include the battle of Marathon and the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis, and end with the retreat of Xerxes to Asia after his defeat at Salamis. They begin with VI. 48, to which V. 105 is prefixed by way of introduction.

## I.

Page 112. — 1. βασιλεῖ, uncontracted form for βασιλεῖ (G. 53, 3). — *ὥς, when.* — Σάρδεις = Σάρδαις (G. 59, 2), accusative plural. — Ἴωνων . . . ποιησάμενον, *making no account of the Ionians.* — μετὰ δέ, *but afterwards* (G. 191, N. 2). — πυθόμενον, like *ὥς ἐπίθετο* above. — εἰρεσθαι, *used to ask*, imperfect infinitive (G. 203, N. 1). — ἀπείναι for ἀφείναι (v. ἀφίημι : G. 17, 1, N.), *let fly.* — μὲν for αὐτόν (G. 79, 1, N. 2), i. e. the arrow. — βάλλοντα, *as he let it fly* (G. 204). — ἐκγενέσθαι, infinitive for optative in a wish (G. 270), *be it granted.* — προστάξει depends on λέγεται (third line). — ἐς τρίς, *thrice.* — ἐκάστοτε, i. e. every day at supper. — μέμνεο (for μέμνησο), *as if from a present μένομαι* : the form μέμνη is found in Homer.

2. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο : Darius had sent an army and a fleet in 492 B. C., under his son-in-law Mardonius, to subdue Eretria and Athens, reducing the Greek populations on the way. Some, including the Macedonians, were subdued by the army ; but as the fleet beat about Mount Athos, "there fell on them a north wind, great and ungovernable, which treated them very roughly, dashing many of the ships against Athos ; three hundred of them are said to have perished, and more than twenty thousand men. And as this sea about Athos is most full of monsters, many were seized and devoured by them, and some were crushed against the rocks ; and some could not swim and so were lost ; and some perished with cold. So then fared that fleet." (Hdt. VI. 44.) After some successes in the south of Thrace, Mardonius returned to Asia. — *ὅ τι ἔχουσιν*, indirect question. — κόττερα = πόττερον. — ἐαυτῷ = ἐαυτῷ. — σφίς αὐτοῦς = ἐαυτοῦς. — ὦν = οὖν, *therefore.* — ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας, i. e. *ordering them to different places.* — πόλις = πόλεις (G. 59, 2). — νέας μακράς, *ships of war, naves longas.*

3. τὰ προσιχέτο αἰτέων, *what he put forward as his demand.* — ἐς τοὺς ἀπικόλατο = ἐς οὓς ἀφίκοντο (G. 233). — καὶ δὲ καί, *lit. and moreover also*, an emphatic formula very common in Hdt. Here it stands for the usual καί in the expression ἄλλοι τε . . . καί. — σφί = σφίσι (G. 79, 1, N. 2), used like αὐτοῖς in Attic (G. 144, 2). — ἐπεκείατο (G. 129, V. N.). ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας, *aiming a blow at them* (as English, "have at them").

Page 113. — ὥς . . . στρατεύωνται, *so as to join the Persians in marching upon them.* The jealousy thus roused threatened a war which would



have divided and weakened Greece: it was composed in season, and the men of Aegina fought bravely against the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. — τὰ πεποιήκουσιν, *what* [as the Athenians said] *they had done* (G. 248, 4, last ex.). — συνήπτο: the active form συνάπτειν πόλεμον (cf. συνάπτειν μάχην in § 12, *to join battle*), means, *to engage in war*. The hostility between Aegina and Athens is traced by Herodotus to the following circumstance: In time of famine, the Epidaurians had brought two statues of sacred olive-wood from Athens, paying therefor a yearly service at the shrine of Erechtheus. After these had for many years been effectual to avert the barrenness of the land, they were stolen by Aeginetans, colonists of Epidaurus, and the tribute ceased. The Athenians then sent to demand it at Aegina; but, while they were attempting to drag away the sacred statues, a violent storm burst forth, with an earthquake, so that their whole expedition, struck with frenzy, fell upon one another and perished, except one man who fled to tell the tale.

4. ὥστε is used with the participle by Hdt. in the same sense as ὅτε in Attic (G. 277, N. 2.); *not* in the sense of ὡς. — Πεισιστρατιδίων, i. e. Hippias and his household. Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, became tyrant at Athens B. C. 560. Hippias was expelled and the democracy restored B. C. 510, twenty years before the battle of Marathon. — προσκατημένον = προσκαθημένων. — ταύτης . . . προφάσις, *adhering to this purpose*. — Ἑλλάδος, partitive genitive with τοῖς μὴ δόντας. — φλαύρως πρήξαντα, cf. κακῶς πράττειν (G. 165, N. 2). — παραλῦα, "*relieves*." — ἀποδέξας = ἀποδείξας, *having appointed*. — Δῶτιν, Ἀρταφέρνηα, in apposition with στρατηγοῦς.

Here follows the expedition of the fleet against the Grecian islands, and the capture of Eretria, in Euboea, the inhabitants of which were colonized by Darius eastward of the Persian Gulf.

5. ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν: Eretria was opposite the northern point of Attica, across the strait, which is here about five miles wide. — κατέργοντες = καθέργοντες, *hemming in the Athenians greatly*: the word is doubtful. — δοκίοντες . . . τά, *expecting to do the same by the Athenians, as, &c.* (G. 165). — καὶ . . . γάρ: here the separate force of these particles can be seen, *and . . . for*. Generally, however, καὶ γάρ means simply *for surely* (more emphatic than γάρ alone), the original ellipsis of a clause with καὶ being forgotten. — ὁ Μαραθῶν: "the plain of Marathon is about six miles from north to south, and of varying width, having the eastern declivities of Pentelicus on the west, and the sea on the east." Felton. It is about twenty miles northeast from Athens, and fifteen southeast from Eretria. — ἐνιππεύσαι, i. e. *for cavalry movements*. — κατηγέτο = καθηγέτο. — σφέ (G. 171, 3, N.). — δέκα, i. e. one from each Attic tribe. — δέκατος, *one of ten* (not *tenth*). — τοῦ, *whose*. — κατέλαβε, *it befell*: its subject is φυγῆν, which means properly *to get banished* (aorist), while φεύγειν is *to be in exile*: φεύγω is of course transitive, lit. *to flee from*, hence Πεισιστρατον.

6. *ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου*: this refers to the Thracian Chersonesus (on the west side of the Hellespont), where Miltiades had been several years governor or "despot." Hence Byron's familiar lines,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese," &c.

His uncle, Miltiades, the so-called *οἰκιστής* (or *founder* of the Chersonese), had led the first Athenian colony to this region during the reign of Pisis-tratus. Miltiades the younger, according to Herodotus, had advised breaking down the bridge on the Danube, and leaving Darius to perish in his campaign against the Scythians (about 516 B. C.): hence the king's enmity against him, and attempt to seize him, described below.

Page 114. — *περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖντο*, made great efforts. — *τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, thereupon*. — *ὑποδεξάμενοι*, watching for his return: the simple *ἰδεξάμην* in Ionic Greek, as in Attic, belongs to *δέχομαι*: but in compounds care must be taken to avoid confusion with this and similar Ionic forms (as *ἰδέχθην*) belonging to *δεκνυμι*. — *ἀπεδέχθη*, was appointed.

7. *τοῦτο μελετώντα*, i. e. this was his profession. — *τῷ = φῷ*, dative after *περιπίπτει*, falls in with (G. 187). — *βῶσαντα* (v. *βοῶω*), calling. — *Πάνα*, subject of *κελεύσαι*, which depends on *ἔλγε* understood: Pan was the Pelasgic (i. e. aboriginal) deity, whose chief seat of worship was the Pelasgic district of Arcadia. — *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, to carry this message (implying to ask). — *δίδωμι* (= *διδῶμι*) . . . *ποιεῖνται*, why they paid no reverence to him. — *τὰ δέ* is used before *ἔτι* as if *τὰ μὲν* stood before *πολλαχῇ*. — *καταστάντων* . . . *πρηγμάτων*, when their affairs were now restored to good condition. — *εἶναι*: the subject is *ταῦτα* after *πιστεύσαντες*. — *ἱρόν*, shrine: this was a grotto below the Acropolis, with a descent of 47 steps. — *ἀπό*, in consequence of. — *λαμπάδι*, a torch-race.

8. *δευτεραῖος*, within two days: the distance is about 140 miles. — *περιπεσοῦσαν* (like *περιπεσεῖν*), aorist participle without time (G. 279, 3). — *πρός*, at the hands of. — *πόλι*, dative of difference (G. 188, 2): *Greece is become poorer, by one notable city*. — *ἔαδε*, v. *ἀνδάνω*. — *ἀδύνατα ἦν*, it was impossible, a common expression for *ἀδύνατον ἦν* (G. 135, 2).

Page 115. — *ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνός*: the lunar month was divided into three parts, called *ἰσταμένος*, *μεσών*, *φθίνων*. — *ἐνάτη* = *ἐνάτη*, ninth. It is supposed that in this particular month occurred the Carneia, the great Dorian festival in honor of Apollo, lasting from the seventh to the fifteenth (i. e. till the full moon), during which no Dorian might bear arms. It occurred generally in August, but this year early in September. — *μή οὐ* (G. 283, 7, end) . . . *τοῦ κύκλου*, while the moon's disk was not yet full.

9. *συνεννηθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ*: this he understood to mean, that he should sleep in the grave in his native land. — *γῆραιός*, in his old age. — *κατελθών* (G. 138, N. 8).

10. *τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ* (G. 148, N. 4). — *ἀπέβησε*, put ashore. — *καταγομένας*, brought to land: the corresponding *ἀνάγεσθαι* is to put to sea. — *οἱ*, to him, dative following *ἐπηλθε*. — *ἰώθει* for *εἰώθει*, v. *ἔθω*. — *οἷα*

(G. 277, κ. 2) with ὄντι, *since he was*. — πρεσβυτέρῳ, *rather old*. — ἐξηλυθῆναι, *had come to pass* (lit. *had come out*).

11. ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλῆος, i. e. in Marathon. — Πλαταιαίαις, the city of Plataea was about twenty-five miles northwest from Athens, in the territory of Boeotia. — ἀναραιρέατο, for ἀνήρητο, v. ἀναιρέω, *had undertaken* (G. 122, 2). — ἐκαστέρῳ, *too far off* (to be of any use to you).

Page 116. — τοιγάρ . . . ψυχρή, *such a service would prove to be cold*, i. e. too weak to be of use. — φθαίητε . . . ἡμέων, *for you might be enslaved many times before any of us would hear* (G. 279, 2) : πύθισθαι here follows φθαίητε ἢ from the force of πρίν implied in the verb (G. 274, N.); a rare construction. — τιμαρρίων οὐ κακοῖσι, *no cowards to help*. — συνεστέατας, v. συνίστημι, *coming in collision*. — Βοιωτοῖσι : especially Thebans, who would object to the proposed union of Plataea and Athens.

12. οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, i. e. they followed their advice. — ποιούντων is temporal. — ἐπιτρεφάντων ἀμφοτέρων, *both sides choosing them umpires*. — οὐρίσαν for ὤρισαν, v. ὀρίζω. — ἑὼν . . . τελείων, *that the Thebans should leave at liberty (ἑὼν) those of the Boeotians who were unwilling to belong to the Boeotian league, which was under the exclusive control of Thebes*.

13. ἐπεθήκαντο (G. 121, 2), *attacked*. — ἐσθάθησαν (for ἤσθ-, v. ἡσθάομαι), *were defeated*. — τοὺς . . . οὄρους, *the boundaries which, &c.* : τοῖς is relative.

14. ἐγίνοντο δίχα, *were divided*. — τῶν μὲν, &c., *one part voting not to engage*. — ὀλίγους, *too few*. — τῶν δέ, &c., *the other, including Miltiades, urging it*. — ἐνίκα ἢ χείρων, *the more timid was likely to prevail* (imperfect). — κυάμῳ λαχόν, *elected by lot* (lit. *by the bean*). The polemarch was the third in rank of the nine archons, and he was originally (as his name denotes) a military commander. Soon after the Persian Wars, however, his duties were confined to the management of the affairs of foreigners resident at Athens, and military matters were left to the board of ten generals (στρατηγοί).

Page 117. — 15. οὐδέ, &c., *not even Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens by slaying Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias, who was then tyrant : they were from the same deme with Callimachus (Aphidnae)*. — δέδοκται τὰ πέσονται, *it is already determined what they shall suffer* : i. e. the tyranny of the Pisistratidae will be restored and the democracy abolished. — περιγίγνηται, *shall get the victory*. — οἷα τί ἐστι (G. 151, N. 4). — ἀνῆκα ἐς σέ, *has come up to you* [for decision]. — ἔλπομαι, *I anticipate*. — στάσιν, *commotion or civil conflict*. — ὥστε μηδίσαι, *so that they will favor the Persians*, i. e. prove traitors to the national cause : in this verb μηδίζω, and often elsewhere, the Persians are incorrectly called Medes by the Greek writers. — πρίν τι . . . ἐγγενέσθαι, *before there came anything rotten* (cowardly or corrupt) *into one and another of the Athenians*. — θεῶν . . . νεμόντων, *if the Gods judge justly*. — ἤν ἔλῃ, *if you prefer* (v. αἰρέω). — τῶν . . . ἀγαθῶν (for ὧν . . . ἀγαθῶν), by attraction and assimilation (G. 154, N.) for τῶν ἀγαθῶν (G. 181, N.) & κατέλεξα.

16. μετὰ δέ (G. 191, N. 2). — *πρυτανίη τῆς ἡμέρης*, *command for the day*, which passed in rotation through the whole board of ten generals: as one general belonged to each tribe, it is likely that the same order was followed here as in the ordinary succession of the tribes in the *πρυτανεία*, which was determined annually by lot (see note on § 17, below, and on Xen. Mem. § 18). — *δεκόμενος* = *δεχόμενος*. — οὐ . . . κε = οὐ . . . πω, *not yet*. — *πρίν*, *until* (G. 240, 1).

Page 118. — 17. τότε, &c.: the right wing was the post of honor, as being most perilous, that side being unprotected by the shield; it was anciently assigned to the king. — *ὡς ἡριθμούντο*, *in order*, as they were numbered; see note on § 16, above. — *ἀπὸ ταύτης . . . σφί μάχης*, *from their fighting in this battle*: for σφί (the Plataeans) see G. 184, 3, N. 4. — *θυσίας . . . γινομένας*, *when the Athenians celebrate the sacrifices and festivals which take place every four years*: this refers especially to the greater Panathenaic festival. — *λέγων* is parenthetical, and *γίνεσθαι* depends on *κατεύχεται* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ἐξισούμενον*, *extended to equal length*. — *ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις*, *but a few ranks deep*.

18. *ὡς δέ σφί διετέτακτο*, impersonal (see G. 188, 3, second ex.) — *ἀπέθισαν* (v. ἀφίημι), *were allowed to advance* (lit. *let go or sent forth*) "like racers in the course" (Stein). — *μανίην . . . ἐπέφερον*, *they imputed madness*: in fact, only the admirable training of the Athenians saved them from being thrown into disorder, by which they must have perished. — *ἵππου* (fem.), *cavalry*. — *ἀνέσχοντο ὀρόντες*, *endured to behold*. — *ταύτην ἐσθημένους*, *wearing it* (a peculiar word: G. 164; 197, 1, N. 2). — *τῶς*, *till then*. — *φόβος ἀκούσαι* (G. 261, 2, N.).

19. *μαίχομένων*, genitive absolute denoting time, *while they fought*. — *τὸ μέσον* (G. 160, 1), *at the centre*, like *κατὰ τοῦτο ἐνίκων* just below. — *τῷ*, *where*. — *Σάκαι*: these were Scythian bowmen, serving probably as mariners in the fleet, and efficient in land service. — *ἐπετάχματο* = *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν*. — *ῥήξαντες*, *breaking through*.

Page 119. — *ἔων*, *they suffered*, for *έων*. — *τοῖς . . . ῥήξασι*, dative after *ἐμάχοντο*. — *φεύγουσι*, *in their flight*. — *Πέρσῃσι* (G. 186, N. 1).

20. *ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε*, the verb is *ἀπέθανε*, the prepositions being separated by tmesis (G. 191, N. 3). — *γενόμενος*, *having proved himself*. — *Κυνέγειρος*, a brother of the poet Aeschylus: he was attempting to climb into the ship by the stern-works (*ἀφλάστων*). — *τὴν χεῖρα* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

21. *ἐξανακρουσάμενοι*, *backing water*. — *ἀπικόμενοι* (G. 279, 2). — *αἰτίη*, &c., *an accusation became current* (*ἔσχε*) *that they planned this by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae*: this was a powerful family in Athens, at feud with Miltiades, — the same to which, in the next generation, Pericles belonged. — *ἀναδείξαι ἀσπίδα*, *displayed a shield* (G. 203): this depends on the idea of saying in αἰτίη. This shield, "discernible from its polished surface afar off, was seen held aloft upon some high point of Attica, — perhaps on the summit of Mount Pentelicus. . . . A little less quickness on

the part of Miltiades in deciphering the treasonable signal and giving the instant order of march, — a little less energy on the part of the Athenian citizens in superadding a fatiguing march to a no less fatiguing combat, — and the Persians, with the partisans of Hippias, might have been found in possession of Athens. . . . Nothing could have rescued her, except that decisive and instantaneous attack which Miltiades so emphatically urged." Grote.

22. ποδῶν (G. 168, N. 3), genitive following τάχιστα, i. e. *at the top of their speed*. — ἔφθησαν ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 2). — πρὶν ἢ ἦκαν (G. 274, N.). — Κυνοσάργει, a grove and gymnasium, eastward of the city, like the Academy (see note on Xen. Hellen. p. 33). — ὑπεραιωρηθέντες, *lying off* (lit. *above*): in the same way the Greeks spoke of a vessel leaving the shore by ἀνάγεισθαι, and of one approaching the shore by κατάγεισθαι. Compare the active expression νέας ἀνακωχέουσιντες, *keeping the ships at anchor*, just below. — Φαλήρου, the old port of Athens (see map, and note on Xen. Hell. p. 42): at this time the Piræus had not been fortified.

23. συνήνακε, v. συμφέρει, *it befell*.

Page 120. — πληγέντα, *struck* with sword or pike; βληθέντα, *hit* with arrow or javelin. — σκιάζαν (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

24. ἔχοντες . . . οὕτω, *making such haste to reach Athens in time for the battle*. — τριταῖοι, *on the third day from Sparta* (i. e. two days after leaving Sparta). Plato says that they arrived the day after the battle. — θηήσασθαι (v. θεάομαι).

After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades procured an armament of seventy ships under his own command, for secret service, — which proved to be an attack on Paros, to revenge, says Herodotus, a private quarrel. He returned unsuccessful, and was impeached of treason by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. The penalty of death was commuted for a fine of fifty talents; and before this was paid, he died of a wound or bruise received in his escape from Paros. Meanwhile, the Greeks were left in security and peace, and the next invasion, under Xerxes, was delayed for a period of ten years.

The date of the battle of Marathon, according to the most satisfactory calculations, is September 12, B. C. 490. The account of the battle in Herodotus, although it is the best that we have, is very far from satisfactory. We have no detailed description of the movements, no account of the feeling in Athens either before or after the victory, no statement (even on conjecture) of the numbers engaged on either side. This silence on some points probably arose from the fact that the invasion of Xerxes was the chief object of interest in his history, and the invasion of Darius was looked upon chiefly as introductory to this. But on other points, especially as to the numbers, we may safely presume that he is silent simply because he had no authentic

information. He is very minute in giving the numbers of the slain, one of which at least (that of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians) he could have known from inscriptions. As to the numbers of the Persians, hardly a guess can be made: they are variously stated by later historians from 600,000 to 210,000, which last is the estimate of Cornelius Nepos. The same historian gives the number of Greeks as 10,000, including 9,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. Others give 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. If this estimate included only the heavy armed, and the usual addition is made for light armed, we shall make the whole Greek force consist of 20,000 or 22,000 men. (See Rawlinson, Appendix to Book VI.)

Herodotus does not mention cavalry in the battle, although he states that the field of Marathon was selected by the Persians because it was excellent for cavalry movements (*ἐνπιπρῆσαι*). We may suppose the cavalry to have been absent foraging on the day of the battle, which the Persians were not expecting (as Rawlinson suggests); or it may not yet have been landed, for some reason not given. At all events, no account is given of its re-embarkation, which would have been difficult after the defeat.

By the view given in Blakesley's "Excursus," the landing at Marathon was meant only for a lodgement. The region near held many partisans of Hippias, who were also formidable in the city; and if their expected movement had taken place, the Persians might have landed their cavalry, destroyed the little army of the Greeks, and occupied the country at their leisure. This plan was foiled by the generalship of Miltiades, who, after the two armies had held each other several days in check, *suddenly* extended his wings, and struck his blow so promptly that the Persians were beaten by sheer surprise. They could not, however, have been driven in rout, as Herodotus says, into the interior (*μεσόγειαν*); the wings, alone, had fled in "panic" flight, and perished in the marshes on the flanks,—the service rendered, at this crisis, by the god Pan. On the whole, the main force must have come off with small loss and in good order, the greatness of the victory being exaggerated by the patriotic pride of the Greeks. Their ships lay moored, stern to the shore, and were easily got off, only seven of the whole fleet being taken or sunk. The battle was won, not by the mere superior valor of the Greeks, but by the skill and energy of their commander, who for five days kept his little army safe from attack, in a well-chosen position, and fought when a longer delay might have been fatal; for the Persians were expecting a demonstration from the disloyal faction in Athens, which was prevented only by the promptness and completeness of his victory.

## II.

Page 120. — 1. *καχαραγμένον*, *exasperated*, lit. *sharply cut*: the same verb (*χαράσσω*) from which our own word *character* is derived. — *δανό-τετρα έτολες*, comparative of *δανὰ ποιείν*, to take (a thing) ill, *aegre ferre*.

Page 121. — *ιδονίετο*, *was kept in commotion* ("din"). — *ὥς . . . στρα-τευσομένων*, *since they were to attack Greece*: this phrase gives the reason of *ἀρίστων*.

2. *τετάρτη έτει*, i. e. probably in the summer of B. C. 487. — *Καμβύ-σιω*: Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus the Great, had made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B. C. — *μᾶλλον ὤρμητο*, *was the more eager* (lit. *had been the more impelled*). — *στελλομένου*, *about proceeding*, i. e. getting ready his *στόλος*. — *παίδων*: the dispute was between Xerxes and Artabazanes. Xerxes, though the younger, was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, the queen of Darius. Through her he inherited his own claim of sovereignty, and she was now all-powerful at the Persian court. He had, besides, the claim of having been "born in the purple," after Darius came to the throne, — Artabazanes being son of a former wife. — *ἡγε-μονίης*, *precedence* as to the succession. — *ὥς δέα* depends on the idea of *demanding* vaguely implied in *στάσις ἐγένετο*. — *οὕτω* refers back to *ἀπο-δίξαντα*: the meaning is, that after nominating a successor he should *so* set forth, i. e. he should *not* set forth *until* he had done this. — *παρασκευαζό-μενον* agrees with *Δαρείον*, which is subject of *ἀποθανεῖν*. — *συνήνευκε*, *it happened*.

3. *καὶ Ἐφέης*: Herodotus represents that Xerxes was at first indifferent to the expedition against Greece, but was urged to it by Mardonius (afterwards slain at Plataea), who hoped to become satrap of Greece. In a royal council held after Egypt was subdued, Xerxes declared his intention to make the invasion by way of the Hellespont, and was supported by Mardonius, but dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, his wisest counsellor, — who, however, yielded to the terror of a vision, which "threatened to burn out his eyes with hot irons" for his opposition to the will of destiny. He now "openly favored the expedition; and so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent." — *ἐπὶ τέσσαρα έτια*, *four full years*, counting from the reduction of Egypt in B. C. 485. — *ἀνορέμψ* (v. *ἄνω*), *advancing*, i. e. *in the course of the year*. — *χαρὶ μεγάλη πλῆθος*, *with a mighty (hand of) force*: with this use of *χαίρ* cf. Latin *manus*. — *στόλων*: this refers to the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, the great Scythian invasion of Media, the war of Troy, and the conquest of Thrace and Northern Greece, still earlier, by the Mysians and Teucrians; "yet not all these," says Herodotus, "nor all others which have ever been, were worthy to be compared with this single one." — *οἱ μὲν*, &c., i. e. the several nations and districts subject to Xerxes. — *ἐς πρὶν ἐπετάχατο*, *had orders for foot soldiers*: *τὸ πρὶν* means foot soldiers when opposed to

cavalry, but *land force* (in general) when opposed to a naval armament. — ἵππος (fem.), *cavalry*, “horse.” — ἄμα (G. 277, N. 1). — γεφύρας, see below § 10.

4. τοῦτο μὲν (G. 148, N. 4), here with no correlative τοῦτο δέ. — ὥς implies that προσπαισάντων gives the reason of Xerxes for digging the canal through Athos (G. 277, N. 2): for προσπαισάντων, see note on I. § 2. — προετοιμάζοντο (impersonal), *preparations were made in advance*. — ἐκ τριῶν ἐτίων, *from a time three years back*. — Ἐλαιούντι, *Elaeus*, at the extreme southwest point of the Chersonesus, was the base of the naval operations at Athos; the military head-quarters were at Sestos, about eighteen miles above. — ὄρμον is from ὀρμέω, while ὀρμώμενοι is an Ionic form (= ὀρμώμενοι) from ὀρμάω. — ὑπὸ μαστίγων, i. e. driven to their work by scourges. See below, § 21; and III. § 44, where Hdt. describes the Persians at Thermopylae as driven into the battle by scourges. — παντοδαποί, *various detachments*. — διάδοχοι, *in relays*.

Page 122. — 5. σχοινοτενές, *a straight line* (as if by a stretched cord). — βάθεια (for βαθεία): at the greatest depth, the canal would be about sixty feet below the surface. — βάθρων, *stagings*: the Phoenicians, according to Herodotus, were the only ones skilful enough in engineering to avoid the caving in of the banks by beginning the excavation with double the width required at the bottom. — πρητήριον, Ion. for πρᾶτήριον, *a market, a place for selling*, from πρᾶ- (stem of πιπράσκω). — ἀλληλεσμένος (v. ἄλλω), *ready ground*.

6. ὥς . . . ἐπίσκειν, *so far as I can find out* (G. 268): in fact, it was not a very difficult work, and was highly politic, especially in case Greece should be subjugated. The canal, which has been traced, “is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across; it has been much filled up with mud and rushes.” — παρὲν (G. 278, 2), *when it was in his power*. — διεπύσαι, *to haul across*, an operation easily performed with the light vessels of the ancients. — εὖρος ὥς . . . πλώειν, *of [such] width that two triremes could pass through* (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐλαστρεμέναις (for ἐλαυνομέναις), *driven by oars*. — ζεύγαντας γεφυρῶσαι, *simply to bridge the river*: the Greeks said ποταμὸν ζεύσαι (§ 8) and ποταμὸν γεφυρῶσαι, and Hdt. has even γεφύρας ζευγνύν.

7. Κριτάλλων, the frontier town of Cappadocia. — γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, see below, § 28. — δειπνα, see below, § 25.

Page 123. — 8. οἱ δέ: those who had charge of the work (see τοῖσι προσέκτετο below). — ἐξέγυνσαν, *were* (in the mean time) *building*. — τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δέ: understand γέφυραν from ἐγεφύρουν above. — βυβλινην, *of papyrus*: this plant was used by the Egyptians for ropes as well as for paper.

9. ἐπικέσθαι (the subject is πληγάς), *that three hundred blows should be laid on with a lash*. — κατεῖναι (v. καθέημι), supply τινάς as subject. — ποταμῷ: the current, about three miles an hour, gives the Hellespont the aspect of a river.



10. τὰς δὲ, *the bridges*. — ὑπὸ, *under*, as a support. — ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριακοσίας: the upper bridge may have been made stronger (of three hundred and sixty vessels) to resist the greater force of the stream; or it may have been at a broader part of the channel, which is here about a mile wide. (See Grote's note.) — τοῦ μὲν . . . κατὰ ῥέον, *at right angles with the Pontus, and in the line of the current of the Hellespont* (to diminish the resistance). — ἵνα ἀναχωρήσῃ, *that it [this arrangement of vessels] might ease* (i. e. by lifting) *the strain on the tackle*: ἀναχωρεῖν (kindred to ἀνέχω) means *to hold up*, with the idea of *relieving* or *keeping quiet* (see ἀναχωρεῖσάντες τὰς νῆας, *keeping the ships off the coast*, in I. § 24): so ἀναχωκή means *a truce*. It is hard to see why (according to the common interpretation, *that the force of the stream might keep up the tension of the cables*, i. e. *keep them taut*) there should be any anxiety to provide for the tension of cables which were stretched over a strait a mile wide, and rested on vessels in a stream running three miles an hour! — συνθέντες is repeated after the long parenthesis. — τὰς μὲν . . . τῆς ἐτέρης, [they cast] *those (δικύρας) of [the ships forming] one bridge towards the Pontus*. — εἰνεκεν, *to guard against*. — Ἰσῶθεν, i. e. *from the Euxine*. — τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης, i. e. *the anchors of the other bridge*. — πρὸς ἑσπέρης, sc. κατήκαν. — εὐρου, νότου: these were southeast and south winds, both blowing more or less up stream.

Page 124. — δεικνύουσιν: the small craft (πλοῖα λεπτά) would pass in and out underneath the cables.

11. χωρὶς ἑκάτερα, i. e. *the flaxen cables and those of papyrus*. — εἰλε, *weighed*: if the talent here meant is the Euboean, or old Attic, a cubit (eighteen inches) weighed nearly eighty pounds. — τῶν ὅλων τοῦ τόνου, *the stretching of the cables*, i. e. *the cables, as they were stretched across the strait*. — ἐπεξέγγυσον, *joined them above*, either by ropes or by strips of wood.

12. χυτοί, *breakwaters*. — ῥηχίης, *surf*: the tide in this sea being very slight. — ὁ ἥλιος: no eclipse of the sun, visible at Sardis, took place in B. C. 480, if the latest astronomical calculations can be trusted; the story here told may belong to the departure from Susa in the preceding year, when there was such an eclipse. The date of the invasion of Xerxes (B. C. 480) is too well established to admit of doubt. — ἐπινέφελων ἐόντων, *genitive absolute*: the indicative would be ἐπινέφελά ἐστιν, *it is cloudy* (G. 135, 2). — αἰθρῆς (noun), *in fair weather*, is genitive of time (G. 179, 1). — τὸ τίθει ( = τί τίθει ), τό being relative used interrogatively (G. 232, 1). — προδέκτορα, verbal of προδείκνυμι, *that which designates or foreshows*.

Page 125. — 13. ἀναμίξ, i. e. *not divided into separate bodies, as they marched according to cities or provinces*. — διελίλειπτο, *impersonal*. — οὔτοι, *these*, who marched in advance. — προηγύντο, i. e. *led the part of the army which accompanied the king; opposed to οὔτοι*. — κάτω τρέψαντες, *this was a mark of respect to the king, who followed them*. — ἄρμα Διὸς: by Zeus Hdt. means the chief God of the Persians, Auramazda or Ormuzd.

14. λόγος, *choice or fancy*. — κατὰ νόμον, i. e. with point upward. — οὔτος, the ten thousand just mentioned. — βολιάς, *pomegranates*, probably as sacred emblems. — ἀντὶ σαυρωτήρων, *in the place of points at the lower end*. — οἱ . . . τράποντες (Ion. for τρέποντες, present), *those who preceded the Nisæan horses* (§ 13).

Page 126. — 15. Σκάμανδρον, the *Scamander* of the *Iliad*: here a shallow brook, in a bed about two hundred feet broad; in the dry season only three feet deep. — ῥιέθρον (G. 160, 1). — οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε . . . πινόμενος, *and did not have water sufficient for the army to drink* (lit. *did not suffice when drunk*, &c.). — ὡς ἀπώκετο repeats the genitive absolute ἀπώκεο μένου after the long relative clause.

16. "On this transit from Asia into Europe, Herodotus dwells with peculiar emphasis; and well he might do so, since when we consider the bridges, the invading number, the unmeasured hopes succeeded by no less unmeasured calamity, it will appear not only to have been the most imposing event of his century, but to rank among the most imposing events of all history." Grote. — καὶ . . . γὰρ are here to be separated, *and — as (for) a seat had been erected for him here*, &c. (See note on I. § 5, above.) — ἐθηεῖτο = ἔθεατο. — ἄρα = ἰάρα, imperfect of ὀράω.

17. ὦνῆρ = ὁ ἀνῆρ. — φρασθεῖς, *perceiving* (see Lexicon). — ὡς . . . εἰ περιέσται, the direct exclamation would be, πῶς . . . ἐστίν, εἰ περιέσται; *how short is the whole of man's life, if no one . . . is to be alive*, &c. (G. 221, N.).

Page 127. — the second οὕτω qualifies εἰδαίμεν. — τῷ (G. 238). — γλυκὴν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, *after giving [man] a taste of the sweetness of life*, lit. *a taste of life as (being) sweet*. — φθονερός, *jealous*, i. e. lest man should vie with him in blessedness.

18. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμῶν χρητίζων, *wanting this* (G. 148, N. 1) *of you*: so δέομαι occasionally takes two genitives, instead of the common construction (G. 172, N. 1). — ξυνὸν . . . σπεύδεται, *for this which we are seeking is for the good of all in common*: the construction being τοῦτο γὰρ σπεύδεται (passive) [δν] ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι ξυνόν: the adjective ξυνός = κοινός. — ἐντεταμένως, *vigorously* (adverb formed from participle of ἐντελεῖν). — τῶν (= ὧν) for καὶ τούτων. — οὐ μὴ τις . . . ἀντιστῇ (2 aorist), an emphatic future expression (G. 257). — λελόγχασι (v. λαγχάνω), *have in charge* (as if assigned by lot): cf. Latin sortiti sunt.

19. τὸν ἥλιον, the Sun, under the name of *Mithra*, was one of the chief objects of worship in the Persian religion.

Page 128. — ἡ μιν παῦσαι (G. 236). — πρότερον ἢ . . . γένηται, = πρὶν ἂν . . . γένηται (G. 240, N.). — ἀκινάκην, a short, straight-pointed sword, or dirk. — μαστιγώσαντι (G. 277, 2).

20. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, i. e. after the chariot. — ἀνέγοντο, *put off* form the shore.

21. εἰδόμενος, *likening thyself*; θέμενος, *taking to thyself*. — ξήν : . . ποίειν (G. 222, N. 2).

22. τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, accusative governed by the phrase ἔξω πλώων, as if it were a compound verb like ἐκλείπειν, which takes the accusative. — πρήσσαν τὰ ἑμπαλιν τοῦ πελοῦ, *taking the opposite direction from the land force* (lit. *doing the opposite*), i. e. sailing southwest towards the Aegean, while the army marched northeast into Thrace. — Δορίσκον : this was a strong Persian fortress, which had been held since the invasion of Scythia by Darius. (See note on I. § 6.)

Page 129. — 23. πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, *number of people*. — τοῦ πελοῦ, *of the foot-soldiers* (as we know from Hdt. VII. 184, where the cavalry are estimated at 80,000 in addition to this number. — τὸ πλήθος : by this reckoning, 1,700,000 men, a very uncertain estimate, as the numbers might easily be exaggerated in the loose way of counting. Ctesias makes 800,000, and Aelian 700,000; but "we may well believe," says Mr. Grote, "that the numbers of Xerxes were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch of history." — συννάξαντες ταύτην, i. e. τὴν μυριάδα. Compare κατανάξαντες τὴν γῆν in § 11, above. — ὕψος (G. 160, 1).

24. διεξέλασας (G. 138, N. 8) θηήσασθαι, *to see them in review* (G. 204, N. 2). — μετὰ, *afterwards*. — ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί : these lists, it has been thought, may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and been the authority for the account of Hdt. (see Rawlinson). — ὅσον τε τέσσαρα, *about four*; τέ being used by Hdt. after ὅσος, as it is even in Attic Greek after οἷος, *able* (G. 151, N. 4).

Page 130. — ἐντός, *between*, governs both πρῶτων and αἰγιαλοῦ.

25. τοὺς . . . ἐμποδῶν, *whoever came in his way*. — ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ, *into all sorts of distress*. — ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, *lost house and home*. — Θασίοισι, dative after ἀραιρημένος (v. αἰρέω), *appointed by the Thasians*. — ὅκον (= ὅπου), *when*. — ἀπέδεδε, *reckoned in his accounts*. — τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, i. e. about 400,000 dollars.

Herodotus adds: "As soon as the herald's message came, the people would distribute their stores of grain, and proceed to grind wheat and barley-flour for many months' supply; then buy up and fatten the finest cattle; feed poultry and waterfowl in pens and coops for the service of the army; and provide gold and silver drinking-cups and bowls. These things for the king's table only; for the others, food alone. When the army arrived, a tent stood ready spread, in which Xerxes took his rest, while the troops remained in the open air. When dinner-time came, great was the toil of the entertainers; and after spending the night well fed, the army next day tore down the tent, and carried off all it held, leaving nothing."

26. ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, *a saying well expressed, a bon mot*. — καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, *also for the future* (as they had done in the present case). — παρίχαν ἄν, = παρείχαν ἄν (G. 211); depends on the idea of *saying* implied in

συνεβούλευσε : *for it would have subjected them to the alternative, &c.* — *κάκιστα, &c., by the worst fate that ever befell men.* (G. 168.)

27. ἡμόμεναν, *to wait (for him).* — ἀπήκε (v. ἀφίημι), *sent off.* — Θέρμη δέ τῇ . . . οἰκημένη, *and [I mean] Therma which is situated, &c.*

The account of the march of Xerxes from Doriscus (§ 25) to Acanthus (§ 27), which is chiefly descriptive, is here omitted. Acanthus is just northwest of the Isthmus of Mount Athos, through which the canal (§ 4) had been dug by order of Xerxes. Here therefore, as is stated in § 27, the king separated from his fleet, sending it through the canal and round the two western capes of Chalcidice to the head of the Gulf of Therma. The only account given by Herodotus of the passage of the fleet through the canal is in the words (VII. 122), διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην. The fleet remained at Therma until its departure for the coast of Thessaly (p. 137, § 5).

Meanwhile Xerxes marched with his army across Chalcidice, from Acanthus to Therma. On the way (according to Hdt. VII. 125) the camels which carried the provisions were attacked by lions (?). On reaching Therma, they encamped on the shore of the Gulf, the camp extending from Therma to the mouth of the Haliacmon on the western coast. South of this river and north of Mount Olympus was Pieria, celebrated as the birthplace and the home of the nine Muses. In this region Xerxes remained (§ 28), until he began his march of eleven or twelve days to Thermopylae (p. 140, § 13).

28. κήρυκες : see p. 122, § 7. — κανοί (= κενοί), *empty-handed.*

Page 131. — ἔταμον ὄρκιον : cf. Latin *ferire foedus*. — καταστάντων εἶ, *having come into (i. e. being in) a good condition.* — σφί (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — δεκατεῦσαι (causal) depends on ὄρκιον εἶχε, as if it were *they took an oath to, &c.* (G. 271).

29. Δαρείου πέψαντος : see p. 112, § 2. — οἱ μὲν, the Athenians. — τὸ βάραθρον, *the pit* : this was a deep hole at Athens, like a well, into which criminals were cast, iron hooks in the sides tearing the body to pieces as it fell. Miltiades is said to have counselled this act, wishing to commit the city to inexpiable hostility against Persia. — συνήνακε (v. συμφέρω) γενίσθαι, *chanced to befall.* — ἀνέβλητον, lit. *unwelcome*, belongs to δ τ. — In later times it was believed that the misfortunes of Miltiades were the retribution of this impiety. In Sparta, the wrath of the hero Talthybius, herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the state, and would not be appeased until two noble Spartans had offered themselves in expiation, and surrendered themselves to the Persians; Xerxes, however, generously spared their lives. But their sons, when proceeding as Spartan envoys to Persia, during the Peloponnesian War, were captured by the Athenians and put to death. Then at length, sixty years after it was committed, the crime against the ambassadors of Darius was atoned.

30. κατέτο, *was sent forth.* — οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι, *likely to suffer no harm.*

31. *ἐξέργομαι, I am constrained.* Herodotus is writing some fifty years after the Persian wars, when Athens was unpopular in consequence of the extent of her empire. (See notes, p. 31.)

Page 132. — *ἐπαρῶντο ἀντιεύμενοι, would have attempted opposition:* in Hdt. *περάσσειν* takes the participle like the verbs mentioned in G. 279, 2, N. — *ἦντιούτο* and *ἐρίγνετο* both refer to past time, like *ἐπαρῶντο* *ἀν* above (G. 222). — *εἰ καὶ πολλὰ, i. e. no matter how many.* — *κιδῶνες* (Ionic for *χιτώνες*), an unusual expression for *walls*: Hdt. once calls a wall a *θῶρηξ* (I. 181), and Demades the orator uses *ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως* in the same sense. (Krüger.) Compare the English *curtain* of a fortress. — *ἐκτεταμένους διὰ, extended across.* — *προδοθέντες ἀν . . . ἐμυνάθησαν:* *ἀν* belongs to the verb (not to the participle). So below, in *ἐμυνάθησαν ἀν . . . ἀπίθανον:* in § 32, *ὄροντες ἀν . . . ἀν ἐχρήσαντο*, we find *ἀν* repeated on account of the length of the sentence, as it might have been in the two other cases. (See G. 212, 2; and also *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, Note 1).

32. *πρὸ τοῦ, beforehand* (G. 143, 2). — *βασιλεὺς ἐπικρατέοντος, protasis to ἦν ἀν, = εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐπικράτει* (G. 226, 1). — *ἀν τις λέγων:* *ἀν* belongs to *ἀμαρτάνει*: see last note on § 31, above. — *τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* (accusative after *ἐγείραντες*) = *τούτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας*.

Page 133. — 33. The oracles are in hexameter verse (G. 295, 4), and the language is generally an imitation of the Homeric; the constructions are often confused, as would be expected from the fact that the verses were (or purported to be) spoken under the inspiration of the moment. (1.) *φεύγ'* is addressed to the whole people represented by the messengers, as if it were but one person. — *ἔσχατα γαίης, to the ends of the earth* (G. 162). (2.) *δῶματα* and *κάρηνα* are governed by *λιπών*. — *τροχόα-δίδος* refers to the walls of Athens, which made an irregular circuit around the Acropolis or citadel. (3.) *ἔμπεδον* (as adverb), *firm, in its place*. (4.) *μέσσης* (for *μέσης*), sc. *πόλεως*. (5.) *κατὰ* belongs to *ἐρείπει* (G. 191, N. 3). (6.) *Συριηγνές, i. e. Assyrian:* the Persians, who were highlanders, having learned the use of chariots from the Assyrians of the plain. — *διώκων, driving:* in the Persians of Aeschylus (vs. 83), Xerxes is said to come *Σύριον ἄρμα διώκων*. (7.) *ἀπολαί, sc. Ἄρης*. (8.) *ἰδρῶτι ῥεού-μενοι, dripping with sweat*, in their terror. (9.) *κατὰ* belongs to *κέχυνται*: the meaning seems to be that *blood falls in showers from the temple roofs*, in which case the dative *ὀρόφοισι* must be explained as in certain Homeric constructions (G. 184, 3, N. 1-4). But *καταχέω* generally takes the dative in Homer (as the genitive in Attic) in the sense *shower down upon*, which does not suit the present passage as well, but perhaps is correct. — (10.) *προϊδόν, foreboding*, as if the blood were itself terrified. (11.) *ἴτον*, apparently addressed to *two* messengers; but the plural follows immediately. — *ἐπικλινάτε, &c., deluge your souls with woes* (*perfundite animum malis*, Stein); or (as Liddell and Scott translate), *spread a brave spirit*

over your ills: the former suits the context better: κίθημα is kindred to σκεδάννυμι, scatter.

34. ἐχρίοντο, *felt themselves in*. — προβάλλουσι σφίας αὐτοῖς, *abandoning themselves to despair* (dat. after συμβούλευε). — λικτηρίας (ράβδους), *the suppliant olive-branches*. — Ἀθόντας agrees with the omitted subject of χρᾶσθαι, instead of taking the case of σφί (G. 138, N. 8). — ἀναξ (= δ᾽ ἀναξ): for the special sense of the title ἀναξ in Homer, see Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 152, according to whom it corresponds nearest with the partly religious and partly feudal term *Lord*. — ἔστ' ἂν τελευτήσωμεν (G. 239, 2).

35. λέγουσι (dative), *as they spoke*. (2.) λισσομένη (G. 277, 5). (3.) δδάμαντι πλάσσας (sc. αὐτό), *making it like* (i. e. *firm as*) *adamant*. (4.) οὄρος may be either for ὄρος, *mount, hill*, or for ὄρος, *boundary*: it may mean, therefore, either the Acropolis of Athens or the bounds of Attica. Cecrops is one of the early (mythical) kings of Athens, in whose reign (says Hdt.) the people were called Κεκροπίδαι. (5.) Κιθαिरῶνος, the boundary of Attica towards Delphi (see map). (6.) τεῖχος ξύλινον, this is the celebrated *wooden wall* of the oracle. (8.) μέναν, infinitive for imperative.

Page 134. — (10.) ἔτι . . . ἔσση, *yet a day shall come (ποτε) when thou shalt meet him*. (12.) Rawlinson translates

“When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest.”

36. συνεστηκυῖαι, *opposed*, like wrestlers who *stand together* in the ring. — ῥήχῃ, *palisade*: there were a few who clung to this interpretation, and perished on the sacred hill (see IV. § 34). — κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν . . . εἶναι, *was (used) with reference to, &c.* — τοῦτο, *this expression*. — συνεχέοντο, *were confounded* (con-fusi).

37. Θεμιστοκλῆς, a Greek of the Greeks, able, keen-witted, patriotic, and unscrupulous: the man who by his single counsel proved the deliverer of Greece. — εἰ . . . ἔόντως, *if the saying had really been uttered with reference to the Athenians* (εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον = εἶρητο: Stein). — οὐκ ἂν . . . χρησθῆναι = οὐκ ἂν ἐχρήσθη (G. 211). — μὲν δοκίαν, (he said) *that he believed*. — τῷ θεῷ, *by the God* (G. 188, 3).

Page 135. — συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, *to one judging rightly* (G. 184, 5): Themistocles may probably have devised the oracle, as well as the interpretation, wishing to impress the deepest terror at the real danger, so as to overcome the timid clinging to the city, and persuade the people to accept the only chance of safety. — τούτου, *this*, refers to παρασκευάζεσθαι . . . ναυμαχίσοντας: i. e. the *ships* (here implied) were the *wooden wall* of the oracle. — ἔγνωσαν, *decided* (G. 200, N. 5): σφί belongs to αἰρετώτερα. — τὸ σύνπαν εἶναι (G. 268, N.), *in short*.

38. ἐς καιρὸν ἥριστον, *prevailed (proved to be best) seasonably*. — τῶν ἀπὸ Λαυραίου (G. 191, N. 6) belongs to μετᾶλλον. — ὀρχηδόν, *apiece*, i. e. *for each male citizen*. If Hdt. is right (V. 97) in estimating the Athenian

citizens at thirty thousand, the sum must have been fifty talents (about fifty thousand dollars). — **δέκα δραχμαίς**, about two dollars. — **χρημάτων**, genitive of price. — **δικοσίας**: as Athens had only two hundred ships at Salamis, and must have had a fleet before this resolution of Themistocles (Miltiades sailed to Paros just after the battle of Marathon with seventy ships), and as fifty talents are an incredibly small sum for building two hundred ships of war, we must understand Hdt. to mean that this money was used (with other sums from the treasury) in building the fleet of two hundred ships which fought at Salamis. Plutarch (Them. IV.) says the money from the mines was used in building one hundred ships. — **τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας**: see above, I. § 3. The Aeginetans at this time had the finest navy in Greece, and they were called **θαλασσοκράτορες**, *rulers of the sea*, during the ten years from 490 to 480 B. C. Plutarch says of them at this time, **κατείχον οἱ Αἰγινήται πλήθει νιῶν τὴν θάλασσαν**. — **ἐς τό**, *for what* (for the purpose *for which*). — **ἐς δέον**, nearly equivalent to **ἐς καιρόν**, *seasonably*. — **τοῖσι βουλομένοισι** (G. 186).

39. **ἐς τὸ αὐτό**, *into one place*, probably the Isthmus of Corinth, afterwards the place of meeting of various councils of war (see below, III. § 1). — **σφίσιν**, *to each other*, as reflexive in sense of reciprocal (G. 146, N. 3; 144, 2). — **πρῶτον . . . πάντων**, *first of all things*: according to Plutarch, Themistocles proposed this general reconciliation. — **ἐγκεκρημένοι** (which is an emendation for **ἐγκεχρημένοι**), from **ἐγκεράννυμι**: the wars are said to have been *mixed up* or *concocted*. See **πόλεμος συνήπτο** above, I. § 3.

Page 136. — **πρηγμάτων**, objective genitive. — **φρονήσαντες εἰ πως ἐν τε γένοιτο**, &c.: the sense is, they resolved to send these spies and messengers, *having formed a wise plan (φρονήσαντες) in case the Greek race should in any way become united, &c.* The apodosis to **εἰ . . . γένοιτο . . . πρήσσοιεν** is suppressed (G. 226, N.), being implied in the context: i. e. *their plan would succeed* (or the like) in case of union. See Hdt. VI. 52: **βουλομένην εἰ πως ἀμφοτέρω βασιλείας**, *wishing that both might in some way become kings*, lit. *having a wish* (which would be realized) *in case both should in some way become kings*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2). — **ὡς . . . ἐπιόντων** gives the ground on which the Greeks acted (G. 277, N. 2).

In the narrative which follows, the spies sent to Persia are taken and brought before Xerxes, who "gave orders to his guard to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart's content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired," — thinking he was thus surest to terrify the Greeks from all thought of resistance. Argos jealously refused the alliance, unless she should have equal command with Sparta, claiming that the supreme authority was justly hers, by right of descent from Agamemnon. She was even charged with having invited the Persians to the invasion of Greece. Gelo (whose exploits in Sicily are told at length) refused his aid, unless he should be put in supreme com-

mand, — to which the Greeks retorted that they came “to ask for an army, and not a general”; so Gelo stood ready to submit if the Persians were victorious. He afterwards claimed, however, that he would have helped the Greeks but for the embarrassment of a war with Hamilcar of Carthage. Corcyra promised help, but kept back her fleet (under pretence of head winds) till the crisis was past. The Cretans refused to assist, having once suffered calamity from Minos (who had perished in his pursuit of Daedalus) for the aid given by Idomeneus in the Trojan war. And the Thesalians submitted, reluctantly, to overwhelming force.

### III.

Page 136. — 1. τῇ (= ἡ), *where* (in what region). — ἐν οἷοισι χώροις, *on what sort of ground*. — ἰσβολήν, i. e. from Thessaly into Central Greece. — τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίαν, i. e. the pass of Tempe, at the mouth of the Peneius. Herodotus gives three reasons why the pass of Thermopylae was preferred: the second (καὶ μία), that it was *single*, refers to the Persians having entered Thessaly by another route, and not by Tempe as was expected; and to justify the choice on this ground, he mentions the ignorance of the Greeks as to the mountain pass, τὴν ἄτραπον, by which Thermopylae was finally turned. — Ἰστιαίητιδος, the territory of Histiaeae (afterwards Oreus) in the north of Euboea. (For the bearing of these places, see a map of Greece.) This position was chosen to prevent the Persian fleet from taking the flank or rear of their force at Thermopylae.

2. τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, *first, as to Artemisium*: τοῦτο μὲν corresponds to ἡ δὲ αὖ . . . ἰσόδος (i. e. the pass of Thermopylae) below. — ἐκ . . . Θρηϊκίου, *after* (coming from) the Thracian sea. — συνάγεται (sc. τὸ πέλαγος) ἐς . . . τὸν πόρον, *it* (the sea) *contracts into the strait, &c.* — ἐκ τοῦ στεανοῦ δέκεται, i. e. *after passing the strait, the shore* (of) *Artemisium in Euboea* (possessive genitive) *comes next*: δέκεται is used like ἐκδέχεται and υποδέχεται (§ 3), *excipit*. — ἡμίπλεθρον, about 50 feet. The line of the coast is now much farther from the hill, owing to the deposits made by the river. Rawlinson says: “The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width.” — τὸ στενότερον τῆς χάρης τῆς ἄλλης, *the narrowest part of the whole pass*: τῆς ἄλλης is used as Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, *lit. the most notable of those which had preceded it*; and as we often hear a thing called “the most perfect of all others.” See map of Thermopylae at the end of the volume.

Page 137. — 3. τὸ πρὸς ἰσπέρης (G. 160, 2), *towards the west*: in fact, more nearly towards the south; Hdt. thought of the coast as lying from north to south. — χύτρου, *caldrons*: of these there are two, enclosed in masonry. The hot springs of Thermopylae are salt, and of the



temperature of 100° Fahr. — **Ἡρακλῆος**: it was said that these springs were created miraculously that Hercules might have a warm bath after one of his labors. — **τὴν Αἰολίδα**, *the Aeolian land*, the more ancient name of Thessaly. This irruption of Thessalians from Epirus is one of the earliest movements mentioned in the traditions of the race afterwards called Hellenic. Thucydides (I. 12) speaks of the migration of Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly into the land afterwards called Boeotia, a result of this Thessalian migration; and he assigns the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy as its date. — **ἐπήκαν**, *conducted* (by trenches). — **ὥς δὲ**: Homer and Hdt. sometimes used **ὥς δὲ** and **ὅπως δὲ** with the optative, as all writers do with the subjunctive, without affecting the sense (G. 216, 1, N. 2). Here the **δὲ** belongs to the particle, not to the verb (G. 207, 2); in Attic Greek, such an **δὲ** would belong to the verb and form an apodosis.

4. **ἐν Πιερίῃ**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ**, *breaking up* [at, and departing] *from the Isthmus*.

Page 138. — 5. **τὴν Σκιάθου** (G. 182, 2). — **Τροϊζηνή**: this ship was captured by the Persians, who (as Hdt. adds) "took the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him at the ship's prow," reckoning it a good omen, — the more so as the man's name was *Leon*. The two other triremes were taken; but the crew of the Athenian ship escaped. On hearing of this advance of the Persian fleet, the Greeks left their anchorage at Artemisium, and retreated to Chalcis on the western coast of Euboea.

6. **περὶ τὸ ἔρμα**, *upon the reef*: this still lies in the mid-channel. — **κομίσαντες**, *having brought it* (the column) for this purpose. — **καθαρόν**, *removed*, i. e. by being made harmless. — **ἐνδεκα ἡμέρας**: see note on II. § 27, above. — **πανημερὸν πλώοντες**: the distance is about 100 miles. — **τῆς Μαγνησῆς χώρας**, possessive genitive with the following accusatives. — **στρατός**, the whole *armament* (army and navy).

In the estimate which follows (VII. 184–187, here omitted), Herodotus makes the whole Persian armament, including army and navy, before the battle of Thermopylae and before the storm, to consist of 2,641,610 men. To the number of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers counted in the review at Doriscus (see above, II. § 23), he now adds 80,000 for the cavalry, 517,610 for the crews and marines of the fleet, 20,000 for Arabs with camels and Libyans with chariots, and lastly 324,000 for the land and sea forces furnished by the Thracians, Macedonians, and Thessalians, whom Xerxes had pressed into his service since he entered Europe (see II. § 25). This immense total of 2,641,610 Herodotus proposes to double, to include all the non-combatants (attendants, crews of corn-vessels, and camp-followers). giving a grand total for the entire host of 5,283,220! Rawlinson, on various grounds, reduces the estimates for the military force to about 1,500,000, taking no account of the still greater exaggerations in the number of non-combatants. "Of all these myriads," says Herodotus, "there was not one who for beauty and stature better deserved to hold this vast power than Xerxes himself."

7. *πρόκροσσαι . . . νῆας, they lay at anchor, arranged alternately (or in a quinquecunx), heading seaward, and eight rows deep.* The scholia on II. XIV. 35 explain *προκρόσσαι* (sc. *νῆας*) *ἔρυσαν* as follows: *ἄλλην πρὸ ἄλλης παραλλήλως ἀνέλκυσαν κλιμακῆδόν*, i. e. *they drew them up in parallel rows like steps*; Aristarchus adds, that this would give the appearance of a *theatre*, *κρόσσαι γὰρ αἱ κλίμακες*. This means the seats of the Greek theatre, which were *steps* like those of a modern circus; and we may refer *κλιμακῆδόν* (= *πρόκροσσαι*) to the general appearance of the ships



of ships were drawn up (as here) on a sloping beach. In II. 125, Hdt. says that the *steps* on the outside of the pyramids of Egypt were sometimes called *κρόσσαι*. We may, however, refer *κλιμακῆδόν* to the irregular lines in which the ships were arranged from front to rear (as in the second figure). For another explanation, opposed to that of Aristarchus, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. *πρόκροσσαι*. — *οὕτω* (sc. *ῥομεον*). — *ἤρσάσης, having become seething* (i. e. before the storm burst). — *ἀπηλιώτης (ἀπὸ-ἥλιος)*, properly an *east wind*, here (*east-northeast*, referring to the *Ἑλλησποντίας*. — *τοῖσι . . . ὄρμου, who were so anchored* (as it allow it): for *οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου* (impersonal), see G. 168, N. 3. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 234; 227, 2), *these*. — *ἀνασπάσαντες* (G. 279, 2). — *μεταρσίας, at sea*. — *ἔλαβε* (sc. *ὁ χειμῶν*). — *Ἰπνοὺς, Ovens*: see below. — *τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα, the matter of the storm*, a common expression for the storm: cf. *ὅς χρῆμα μέγα, a huge wild boar* (Hdt. I. 36).

Most writers place Sepias, the rocky headland on which the Persian fleet was wrecked, near the southeastern point of Magnesia, or even (as Grote) beyond that point upon the southern coast. For the following account of the topography we are indebted to Professor Sophocles, who was born on the coast of Magnesia, and who has known the whole shore as a boy and studied it as a scholar:—

The east-northeast wind, the *Ἑλλησποντίας* of the ancients, is still the terror of navigators on the "harborless coast of Pelion" (Eurip. *Alcest.* 595). But it is dreaded chiefly *north* of Cape Nekhóri; a vessel overtaken by the wind south of this point can easily enter the channel between Thessaly and Euboea. The rocky headland directly east of the highest point of Pelion agrees best with the accounts of Sepias. Between this and the probable site of Casthanaia (four miles below) are two beaches, separated by a point of rocks. North of Sepias is another small beach, beyond which are several caves in the steep cliffs (*ἐν Πηλῷ*), which are probably the *Ἰπνοὶ* or *Ovens*. On these three beaches the fleet must have been drawn up, and here the disaster must have occurred.

Page 139. — 8. Ὀρίθυιαν: Orithyia, daughter of the Attic king Erechtheus, was said to have been carried off by Boreas (the northeast wind), as she was picking flowers on the banks of the Ilissus. The story is pleasantly told in the beginning of Plato's Phaedrus. — ὥρμηται, *has gone forth or spread*. — περὶ Ἄθων: see above, I. § 4, and note on I. § 2.

9. λέγουσι διαφθάρηναι is understood with οὐκ ἐλάσσονας. — γηοχέοντι, *being a landholder* (γήοχος or γαιήοχος). — καὶ τοῦτον, *him too* (as well as other men), object of λυπεύσα. — συμφορῇ . . . παιδοφόνος, *a calamity afflicting him by the death of a child* (or children): this seems to imply that he was accidentally the cause of his child's (or children's) death.

10. οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄριθμος, *there was no reckoning*. — καταϊδόντες γόησι, *singing incantations by enchanters*: γόησι is suspected by many recent editors. — ἀνέμω belongs to both participles. — Θέτι, *Thetis*, the sea-goddess, mother of Achilles. It was said that the place at which Thetis was seized by Peleus was called Sepias, because she there changed herself into a cuttlefish (σηπία) to escape her lover.

Page 140. — 11. ὅπισω ἡπείγοντο: see note on § 5, above. — ἐπωνυμίην . . . νομίζοντες, *keeping up the name*, i. e. continuing to invoke Poseidon with this title of Saviour.

12. τὴν ἄκρην: the southeast cape of Thessaly, often mistaken for Sepias itself. — ἰθέαν (sc. ὁδόν), *straight*. — φέροντα, *leading* (Pagasae being at the head of the bay, the Gulf of Volo). — εἶτ' . . . ἔπλεον, i. e. on the Argonautic expedition, τὸ κῶας being the famous Golden Fleece. — Ἀφεταί, *Aphetæ*, or place of *departure*, from ἀφήμι (through ἀφερος) in its neuter sense seen in ἀφήσειν, *to set sail*.

13. πορευθεῖς: see note on II. § 27, above. — ἐς Μηλιάς, i. e. into the land of the Malians, at the head of the Gulf of Malis, in whose territory was the outer end of the pass of Thermopylae. — τὸ ῥέεθρον (G. 160, 1) belongs to ἀπέχρησε: see-note on II. § 15, above.

Page 141. — οὗτος is not antecedent to δοτις, but repeats the idea of the relative clause for emphasis.

14. ἀμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥήγχι, *ebb and flow* of the tide, which is seldom sufficient to be noticed in the Mediterranean. — ἰόντι (G. 184, 5). — βοηθέντα, *as an aid*: the future is more common in this sense (G. 277, 3). — καιομένω, *when he burnt himself* on Mount Oeta. — ἀποφανῆναι (G. 203).

15. κατ' ἃ, *at which = where*, referring to ταύτη (where ἡ would have been more regular). — δισχιλία . . . πλέθρα, 22,000 *plethra*, i. e. in surface: the πλέθρον is a long measure of 100 (Greek) feet in length, or a square measure of 10,000 square feet; the Trachinian plain, therefore, must have contained nearly 8 square miles.

16. Ἀσωποῦ, not to be confounded with the Boeotian Asopus (see above, I. § 13).

Page 142. — Ἀμφικτύοσι, i. e. for the Amphictyonic Council, which met twice in each year, once at Thermopylae and once at Delphi. The word Ἀμφικτύονες (the same as ἀμφικτύονες) originally meant *neighbors*, and shows the origin of this and other similar assemblies. The hero Amphictyon, whose temple is here mentioned, was probably invented to connect the foundation of this famous council with the Greek mythology.

17. Θερμοπύλαι, from the *hot* springs. — φερόντων (like ἐχόντων just before it), *extending*: see note on § 12, above. — τὸ ἐπὶ . . . ἡπείρου (G. 160), *as regards what was on this continent* (Greece): see above, § 3.

18. τοσούτοι μὲν, i. e. the 2120 just mentioned.

19. ἦκοιεν represents ἦκομεν of the direct discourse (G. 200, κ. 3). — οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι: the indirect discourse changes here from the optative to the infinitive (G. 246). — τῷ (= ᾧ) . . . συνεμύχθη: this aorist, being in a dependent clause, could not be changed to the optative (G. 247, κ. 2). — ὀφείλειεν . . . πεσεῖν ἄν, *ought to fall*: ἄν may belong to ὀφείλειεν (= ὀφείλοισι ἄν), *it would be his due to fall*; or it may belong to πεσεῖν (πέσοις ἄν), *it is his due that he should fall* (if he should test his fortune). In the former case it is very irregular in its position; in the latter, in its construction. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 2, κ.; § 41, κ. 4.)

Page 143. — 20. Hdt. honors Leonidas, the king of Sparta who belonged to the elder branch of the royal family, by giving his genealogy through the line of Spartan kings up to Aristodemus, the great-grandson of Hercules, one of the semi-fabulous Heraclidae who led the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The twin sons of Aristodemus — Eurysthenes and Procles — founded the two lines of Spartan kings. (See Smith's larger History of Greece, Chap. IV.)

21. ἔρσηνος γόνου (G. 180, κ. 1): Leonidas became king in 491 B. C. — εἶχε, i. e. in marriage. — τοὺς κατεστώτας, *the established number of 300*, this being the regular body-guard of a Spartan king; Leonidas, however, knowing the desperate nature of the present undertaking, instead of taking youths, as usual, now took only those who had sons living, that no family might become extinct.

22. κατηγορήτο, impersonal (G. 134, κ. 2), *it had been charged against them*, μηδίζειν being the subject. — εἴτε συμπεμψούσι: the future optative might be used (G. 243). — ἄλλοφρονέοντες, *reluctantly, or leaning to the other side*.

23. ἵνα . . . στρατεύωνται (G. 216, 2); subj. on the principle of indirect discourse. — μηδέ, *and not*, sc. ἵνα: *and that these two might not join the Persians in case they should learn, &c.* (G. 248). — ὑπερβαλλομένους, *backward, putting off*. — Κάρνεια, the same festival which kept the Spartans from Marathon: see note on I. § 8. — ὀρτάσαντες, *after keeping the festival*.

Page 144. — ἐνέωντο (v. νόω). — ἃς δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπερα τοιαῦτα, pleonastic. — συμπεσούσα (like an adjective with ἦν), *coincident*: the Olympic festival occurred every fourth year on the first full moon after the summer solstice, about a month before the Spartan Carneia.

24. Ἀθεοῖσι (G. 138, N. 8). — περισπερχέντων, *being much incensed*: the word is very doubtful, and most probably a mistake for περισπερχθέντων (see Liddell and Scott). — ἀλέσθαι depends on ὀλίγων, *too few*.

25. ὁκόσοι . . . ποίειεν (G. 243): the direct questions would be πόσοι εἰσιν; and τί ποιοῦσιν; — τοὺς ἡγμένους (G. 160, 1), *by anticipation*, instead of being subject of εἶσαν. — Ἡρακλείδης: see above, § 20. — πᾶν μὲν οὐ, *not the whole*, in antithesis to ὃ δὲ τοὺς ἔω. — ἀλογίης . . . πολλῆς, i. e. *very little notice was taken of him*. — ὁπῶπτε (v. ὁρῶ).

Page 145. — 26. ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ, *but . . . since*. — Δημάρητον: Demaratus was king of Sparta in the younger or Proclid line, but was declared illegitimate and succeeded on the throne (491 B. C.) by the next heir, Leotychides; soon after which he left his country to join the Persians. He proved the most sagacious counsellor of Xerxes, but was almost always overruled by the jealousy of the Persian court-officers. — γέλωτά με ἔθεν, *you made fun of me*. — ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι, *it is my utmost endeavor*.

27. νόμος, (here) *custom*. — οὕτω ἔχων, *of this nature*. — τοσούτοι, *so few*. — χρᾶσθαι (G. 269).

28. παρεῖχε (v. παρεῖξιμι), *let pass*. — φερόμενοι, *impetuously*. — ἐπεσῆσαν, *came up to succeed them* (ἐπι-). — καίπερ (G. 277, N. 1).

Page 146. — πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄνδρες, *many people, but few men*.

29. τρηχέως περιέποντο, *were roughly handled*: περιέπειν = *to follow round, to tend, to treat, &c.* — ἐκδεχόμενοι, *succeeding*: see note on § 2, above. — ἀθανάτους, *Immortals*: this body of 10,000 picked Persians were so called because the vacancies in their ranks were immediately filled, so that the number always remained the same (Hdt. VII. 83). — κατεργασμένοι, sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο, *gained no more*: see below, § 32, μέγα τι οἶσθαι.

30. ἄλλα τε . . . καί, *showing, both in other ways, and especially [in this]*. — ἐξεπιστάμενοι, used (like an infinitive) with ἀποδεικνύμενοι, *showing that they thoroughly (ἐξ-) understood how to fight, &c.* (G. 280). — ὅπως ἐντρέψειαν (G. 233). — φεύγεσκον (G. 122, 2). — δῆθεν implies that the flight was a pretence. — ἄν belongs to ὑπέρστροφον in the iterative construction (G. 206), not in apodosis. — καταλαμβάνόμενοι, *when they were overtaken* (in their pretended flight). — εἶναι (G. 265). — ἐδυνάτο (G. 122, 2; 128, 1), imperfect for ἐδύναντο.

31. ἀναδραμεῖν, *leapt*. “With the grave Orientals, nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind.” Blakesley. — κατατερωματίζεσθαι, *indirect discourse with*

ἵσταται after ἐλπίσαντος. — τὴν ἀτραπὸν, the secret path mentioned above in § 1. — ἐνῶρων (v. ἐνωρέω).

Page 147. — 32. § τι . . . πρήγματι (G. 244 ; 188, 1, n. 2). — διέφθαρε, brought destruction upon. — Πυλαγόρων, a portion of the delegates to the Amphictyonic council were so called. The meeting of the council was called Πυλαία from Πύλαι (see note on § 16, above), even when it met at Delphi.

33. Πυλαγόροι : there is also a form Πυλαγόραι. — πάντως κεν . . . πυθόμενοι, having certainly gained the most accurate knowledge. Many names were current of persons said to have betrayed the pass to Xerxes ; probably it may have been made known by more than one, in a region where many favored the invasion, and many more were in terror of the invader. — τοῦτο δέ, and secondly. — εἰ . . . ὀμνηκῶς εἴη, if he should have had much to do with the region, i. e. as a consequence of having had much to do with it (G. 202, 2) : for the force of the rare perfect optative, see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 18, 1, with Note.

34. ἤρεσε (v. ἄρεσκω). — τῶν ἱστροπῆγαι (see note on § 29). — ὀρμέατο (G. 122, 2), for ὀρμηγτο. — περὶ λήχων ἀφάς, about lamplight.

Page 148. — τότε (see note on § 3, above). — ἐν σκίπῃ τοῦ πολέμου, sheltered from the war (G. 167, 3). — ἐκ . . . χρηστή, at so remote a period (see G. 191, n. 6) had it (the path) been shown by the Malians (G. 188, 3) to be a pernicious thing : οὐδὲν χρηστή (commonly οὐδὲν χρήσιμος), of no good, is a euphemism for bad : these words are sometimes understood to refer to the pass of Thermopylae itself (ἑσβολήν), and to mean that the Malians had so long ago shown the pass to be useless.

35. Μελάμπυγον : this was an epithet of Hercules, implying manliness and strength. — Κερκόπων : these Cercopes were droll, mischievous dwarfs, who appear often in the stories of Hercules, sometimes amusing and sometimes tormenting the hero. In the local legend of Thermopylae, they appear as footpads lurking about the pass (hence their *seats*, ἑδρας, at the narrowest place), where they steal the arms of Hercules while he is sleeping. Hercules seizes two of them and ties them to a pole, which he throws over his shoulders and walks away with them. They have been warned by their mother to beware of the Μελάμπυγος ; and on seeing this characteristic of Hercules as they are swinging behind him, they make such sport of him that finally he too begins to laugh at their jokes and releases them. A bas-relief taken from a temple at Selinus in Sicily represents Hercules carrying the two Cercopes on his shoulders. The stone called Μελάμπυγος probably had some imaginary resemblance to the sleeping Hercules.

36. τὰ Οἰτᾶων : the mountain (usually called Callidromus) over which the path led forms a part of the Thessalian range of Oeta : the words ἐν δεξιῇ refer to the march southward and eastward after crossing the Asopus. — ῥυόμενοι, keeping guard (as protectors). — φρουρέοντες, guarding (as sentinels). — ἡ κάτω ἑσβολή (G. 141, n. 3), i. e. Thermopylae itself. — ὑποδεξάμενοι, having pledged themselves (or given a promise) to Leonidas.

37. ἀναβεβηκότας (G. 280). — ἄδε, *as follows*, belongs to ἔμαθον. — ἐνέδυνον . . . ἐνδυομένους (G. 199, N. 1): as they were putting on *their* armor, the middle is more exact. — οἱ βάρβαροι is subject of ἐγίνοντο. — φανήσασθαι (G. 203, N. 2).

38. μῆ . . . ἔωσι, *lest they might prove to be* (G. 218 ; 216, 2).

Page 149. — φεύγοντες (G. 279, 2, N.). — ἀρχήν, *originally*, i. e. on purpose to attack them. — παρεσκευάδατο (G. 108, 4, I.). — οἱ δέ refers to Πέρσαι, the subject of the preceding clause: this is not an Attic usage (G. 143, 1).

39. ἦοι (G. 55, N. 1). — οὔτοι, the diviner and the deserters. — οὐκ ἔων, *forbade*.

40. οὐκ ἔχαν (G. 203, N. 1), depends on λέγεται, by a change of construction (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ἀρχήν: see § 38, above; ἀρχήν may often be translated *at all*, like Latin *omnino*. — τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι, *I am most strongly inclined to the opinion*: so πολὺς εἰμι (see Liddell and Scott). — κελύσαι (G. 203) depends on the phrase τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι. — αὐτῷ, intensive. — ἔχαν (G. 203, N. 1). — ἐλείπετο, *awaited*. — οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο, *remained undiminished*.

41. γένεσθαι . . . ἀπολέσθαι: we should expect these to be in the future, on the principle of indirect discourse (G. 203); but verbs signifying to *give an oracle* are exceptional, probably because they imply a *command*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1, N. 2). — “The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering.” Blakesley. It was related that Leonidas, before he left Sparta, gave instructions to his wife Gorgo for her conduct in widowhood; and that “funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence.”

Page 150. — (2.) Περσεΐδῃσι, *descendants of Perseus*: Herod. (VII. 61) says that the Persians received their name from Perses, son of the Greek hero Perseus; a mere device to unite the two similar names. — (3.) τὸ μὲν οὐκ . . . δέ, *not this, but, &c.* — (4.) οὗρος (= ὅρος, *boundary*), *Sparta's bounds*. — (5.) τόν (G. 140), *him*, i. e. the invading Persian. — (7.) ἑτερον, *one or the other*. — δια-δάσσηται (v. δατέομαι or δαλομαι). — ἀποπέμψαι and σῆχεσθαι depend on τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι in § 40, being partly a repetition of κελύσαι, &c. in that passage. All from μένοντι δέ (§ 40) through the oracle is a sort of parenthesis.

42. τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, *by descent*. — οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, *remained not behind*, i. e. *did not separate himself* from the army. Krüger.

43. Θηβαῖοι δέκοντες: as unwilling hostages, they could have been of little service; it is probable that this is the representation made afterwards by the Thebans, to reconcile themselves with the Persian conqueror. (See § 55.) Their politics were at this time “essentially double-faced and equivocal.” Grote. A later orator, confounding Thespians and Plataeans, says of the latter, that one half the adult citizens perished in the pass,

and the remainder fought in the Athenian fleet at Artemisium and Salamis. — οὐκ ἔφασαν, *said that they would not, &c.* — ἀπολιπόντες (G. 138, N. 8).

44. ἐς ἀγορῆς . . . πληθώραν, *until about full-market time, i. e. the last part of the forenoon, before μεσημβρία.*

Page 151. — χώρος, here = *space* to be passed over. — τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐφυλάσσετο refers to the fight of the two preceding days.

45. πολλοί refers to the Persians: but the subject changes suddenly at ἄτε γάρ. — τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, *the dying.* — ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον, *their utmost strength; like ὡς μέγιστον expanded into ὡς (or ὅσον) ἐδύναντο μέγιστον.* — παραχρῆμα (sc. τοῖς σώμασιν), *making their lives of no value.* — ἀτίοντες, *reckless.* — κατηγότα (v. κατ-ἀγνυμι). — οἱ δέ, referring to τοῖς πλείοσι, not Attic (see note on § 38, above).

46. γενόμενος, *having proved himself (not having been).* — τὰ οὐνόματα: the names of the 300 could still be read on a column in Sparta in the time of Pausanias, 600 years afterwards. — οἶκον, *his estate.* — ὡς ἑοῦτος gives the reason of Artanes himself.

Page 152. — τοῦτον ὑπέφερσαν, *rescued his body.* The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years later, according to Pausanias; when the column just mentioned was erected. — τοῦτο συνεστήκει, *this kind of battle continued.*

48. πλὴν Θηβαίων: see below, § 55. — λείων, with reference to the name Λεωνίδης. — τοῖσι . . . περιεῦσαι, *such of them as happened still to have them (μάχαιραι) left.* — καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, as we say “tooth and nail,” but of course with no comic idea. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, *in front.* — περισταδόν (adv. from stem of περιστήμι), *so as to surround them.*

49. πρὶν ἢ (G. 274, N.). — τοσοῦτο . . . εἶναι depends on ἔφη implied in what precedes. — τὸν δέ, *but he*, irregularly inserted, as if the sentence had not been introduced by the relative τόν, to which πυνθόμενον belongs. — ὡς ἀγγέλλοι depends on the *past tense* εἰπεῖν (G. 203; 201, N. 2). — εἰ . . . ἔσοιτο represents εἰ ἔσται in the direct form (G. 221, N.), *if it was to be (not if it should be).*

51. αὐτοῦ ταυτῇ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, *there (i. e. at Thermopylae), on the spot where they fell.* — σφί refers to the Spartans and Thespians. — πρότερον ἢ . . . οἵχεσθαι, like πρὶν ἢ in § 49: the subject of οἵχεσθαι is τοὺς συμμάχους understood, which is also implied (in the genitive) after τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασιν. — ἐπιγίγνεται: this verb applies especially to inscriptions, properly called ἐπιγράμματα (see below, after the inscriptions).

Page 153. — Πελοποννήσου: the Doric form, with *ā* for *η* (G. 30, 1). In the preceding verse, τᾷδε and τριακοσίαις are sometimes substituted (on conjecture) for the Ionic forms of the MSS., which can hardly be correct. — χιλιάδες τέτορες: the number who fought (ἐμάχοντο), although Herodotus elsewhere speaks as if 4,000 fell (VIII. 25). The inscription refers only to those from Peloponnesus, who (according to § 18) amounted to 3,100. But



later writers speak of 700 or 1,000 Lacedaemonians *besides* the 300 Spartans; and these must be included, although Herodotus makes no mention of them. The whole question of the numbers at Thermopylae is much disputed. The stern simplicity of the second inscription has made it especially famous. — ἀγγέλλαν is used for the imperative (G. 269). — In the third inscription, Μεγιστίᾳ is Doric genitive (G. 39); and οὐκ ἔτλη = *scorned* (Rawlinson). — ἔξω ἤ, *except*. — Σιμωνίδης : Simonides, the great lyric poet of Ceos, was often considered the author of all three epigrams. His still more famous ode on the heroes of Thermopylae (or perhaps only a fragment) is preserved by Diodorus : —

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πότμος,  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μνάστις, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαυος.  
 Ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρῶς  
 οὐδ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
 Ὅ δὲ σακὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἑλλάδος εἶλετο · μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας  
 ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς  
 κόσμον ἀνάον τε κλέος.

“Of those who at Thermopylae were slain,  
 Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;  
 Their tomb an altar : men from tears refrain,  
 To honor them ; and praise, but mourn them not.  
 Such sepulchre nor drear decay  
 Nor all-destroying time shall waste ; this right have they.  
 Within their grave the home-bred glory  
 Of Greece was laid ; this witness gives  
 Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story  
 A wreath of famous virtue ever lives.”

*Translated by STERLING.*

52. παρὲν = παρὸν (G. 278, 2). — μεμειμένον (see μεθήμι in Cat. of Verbs). — οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι depends on λέγεται in the first line. — τὸν ἑλῶτα, *his Helot servant* : each Spartan soldier was entitled to be accompanied by seven Helots, and probably many of these fell in the first battles at Thermopylae, unmentioned by the historian (see, however, VIII. 25). — λαποψυχέοντα, (here) *faint-hearted*.

53. εἰ . . . ἦν, *if it had been the case*. — κομδὴν, *return* : see κομίζεσθαι.

Page 154. — προσθίσθαι ἄν (= προσέθετο ἄν) depends on λέγεται in § 52. — προφάσιος (G. 171, 1).

54. *ἡτίμωτο*, *he was disgraced*, as the perfect *ἡτίμωται* means *he is disgraced*. — *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι*, i. e. at Plataea, in the following year (479 B. C.). — *ἀνέλαβε*, *he made up for*. — *ἐπεισχεθεῖσαν* (v. *ἐπιφέρει*).

55. *ὥς . . . μηδίζουσι . . . ἀπικολάτο* (G. 243).

Page 155. — 56. *πλεῖνας* = *πλίονας*. — *σχόνα* . . . *Πλαταιῶν*: this attack of the Thebans on Plataea was the first hostile act committed in the Peloponnesian War (431 B. C.).

57. *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, *truthfulness*. — *τὰς διαδόχους*, “*the ins and outs*.” — *οἱα βασιλεὺς γινόμενος*, *since you were once their king*. (See note on § 26, above.) The counsel of Demaratus (here omitted) was that Xerxes should occupy with part of his fleet the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, which would draw off the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus, and put all Greece in his power. This wise counsel was overruled by the Persian Achaemenes. It was followed afterwards by the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian War.

58. *ἀποταμόντας*, sc. *τινάς*. — *δῆλα . . . γίγνει* (G. 135, 2). — *τῶν* (= *ὧν*) . . . *ἀνθρώπων* (G. 154, Note).

#### IV.

Page 156. — 1. *ναυτικὸν στρατὸν*: the return of the Greek fleet from the Euripus to its position at Artemisium has been mentioned in III. § 11. After describing the battle of Thermopylae in the Seventh Book, Herodotus begins the Eighth Book with the sea-fight at Artemisium, which took place on the same three days with the battles at Thermopylae (see below, § 15). — *Πλαταιῆς*: see I. §§ 11–13. — *πεντηκοντήρους*: these were vessels of the older style with fifty oars, all in one row; while the triremes, the more modern ships of war with three banks of oars, were specially called *νῆες*, sometimes *νῆες μακράι*.

2. *ἐν Ἀρτεμίσιον* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἡγεμονεῖη*, *be commander-in-chief*.

3. *ἐς Σικελίην*: see II. § 39. — *εἰ στασιάζουσιν, ὥς ἀπολλέται* (G. 223, N. 1; 247). — *τοσοῦτον . . . ὅσον* (G. 188, 2).

Page 157. — *μέχρι . . . ἰδόντο*, *so long as they* (the Athenians) *were in extreme need of them* (the Peloponnesian allies): *μέχρι ὅσον* here = *ὅσον χρόνον*. The desertion of these allies, all of whom acknowledged the headship of Sparta, would have withdrawn 113 ships. — *περὶ τῆς ἑκάτου*, i. e. to liberate the Greeks in Asia Minor and the islands: this refers to the beginning of the Confederacy of Delos (about 477 B. C.). See notes, p. 31.

4. *Ἀφετάς*: see III. § 12, above. — *παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἢ ὥς κατεδόκειον*, pleonastic for *otherwise than as they expected*, *παρὰ δόξαν* being more emphatic than the simple *ἐτέρως*. — *δρησμόν*, *a retreat*, which would have betrayed the force at Thermopylae to destruction, besides leaving Euboea

unprotected against the Persian fleet. — *προσ-μῆναι* . . . χρόνον, *to wait a little longer*. — *Θεμιστοκλῆς* : Herodotus is writing after Themistocles had died in exile, when even his disinterested acts were liable to be suspected of corruption. But whatever we may think of his personal motives, we may easily believe that he used money furnished by the richer Euboeans in the way described in § 5. — *ἐπ' ᾧ* . . . ποιήσονται (G. 236, N. 2 and 3).

5. *ἐπισχεῖν* (G. 265). — *ἡσπαιρε*, *struggled*, i. e. *resisted*. — *ἀπολιπόντι* represents *εἰ ἀπολίποις*, as protasis to *πέμψαι ἄν* (G. 226, 1). — *ἡπιστάτο*, imperfect, *supposed* (G. 122, 2 ; 128, 1) : cf. *ἔδυνάτο* above, II. § 30.

Page 158. — 6. *εἰ πως θοοιεν* (G. 226, N.), *in case they should capture them*, i. e. *to capture them if they could*. — *καταλάβοι*, *should close in about them* (and save them), — an unusual meaning. — *καὶ ἐμὲλλον δῆθεν* . . . *περιγενίσθαι*, *and they were likely (as the Persians thought, δῆθεν) to make their escape* (i. e. if their flight was not hindered) ; *whereas (δέ), according to their (the Persians') talk, not even a torch-bearer was to come off alive*. The torch-bearer in an army or fleet kept alive the sacred fire which was brought from home, and his person was held sacred. His fall, therefore, implied the utter annihilation of the whole army. It was a common saying that "not even a torch-bearer escaped" (*οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη*), implying utter destruction.

7. *πρὸς ταῦτα ἄν* : this corresponds to *ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6, taking the place of a clause with *δέ* — *ὡς ἄν* (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — *οἱ μὲν*, i. e. those who sailed round Euboea ; *σφεῖς δέ*, *and they*, i. e. the main force ; both in apposition with the subject of *περιλάβοιεν*. — *ἐξ ἐναντίας*, *in front*, like *ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6. — *τὰς ταχθείσας*, i. e. the two hundred.

8. *αὐτὸς περιέβαλετο*, *got for himself*. — *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε*, *but [had not done so], for he had never had [such] an opportunity as then*. — *ἔτι*, *at length*.

Page 159. — *ἐς ὀγδᾶκοντα* : a swim of about nine miles ! This is matched by another later story, that, during the storm at Sepias, the same man with the help of his daughter (also a diver) destroyed many Persian ships by diving down and loosening their anchors.

9. *ἀποδεδέχθω*, v. *ἀποδείκνυμι* (G. 202, 2, N. 1). — *ὡς γένοιτο*, *that it had taken place* (G. 243).

10. *ἐπενέικαντες*, *ascribing or imputing*. — *καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα*, *resolved on this* ; *καταφρονεῖν* has this rare sense only in Ionic Greek. — *ἐς μέσον* implies that they hoped to get the Greeks into the circle which they were about to make. — *ἐπιστάμενοι*, *feeling sure*. — *ἀπονοστήσει*, *would return safe*. — *ἡδομένοισι ἦν* (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — *ὅπως* . . . *λάμψεται* depends on the idea of *striving* in *ἀμιλλαν ἐποιεύντο* (G. 217).

Page 160. — 11. *ὡς ἐσήμηνε*, *when the signal was given* (G. 134, N. 1, d). — *ἐς τὸ μέσον* : the sterns were brought together as the prows were turned toward the enemy on every side. — *ἔργου εἶχοντο*, *held to the work*. — *κατὰ*

στόμα, *beak to beak*. — Σαλαμίνιον : the Salamis in Cyprus is meant ; but ἐν Σαλαμῖνι below refers to the island near Athens.

12. μέσον θέρος, *midsummer* : τῆς ἡρῆς is partitive genitive. The battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium took place in July, 480 B. C. — κατιστάτω, imperfect, = καθίσταντα. — ἀπείροντες, *apprehending*. — ἐς οἷα = ὅτι ἐς τοιαῦτα, causal relative (G. 238). — ῥεύματα ἰσχυρά, *swollen torrents*.

Page 161. — 13. δὲ δὴν (G. 216, 1, κ. 2). — τὰ Κοῖλα, *the Hollows* of Euboea are probably on the southwest side, opposite Attica.

14. ἐπεβόθειον, *came as reinforcement* : these 53 ships, added to those mentioned in § 1, raised the Athenian fleet to the full number of 200. — τὴν αὐτὴν ἡρῆν, *the same time of day* (see § 9, above).

15. σφε λυμάνεσθαι, *should harass them* (G. 184, 2). — τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω, *what Xerxes might do*. — οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks both at Thermopylae and at Artemisium ; οἱ δὲ to the Persians at both places : πόρον refers to the passage by sea and that by land. — δὲ κρατήσουσι (G. 217, κ. 2).

Page 162. — 16. παραπλήσιοι, *equally matched*, not in numbers, but as is explained in the next sentence. — αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε : a Corinthian speaker in Thucyd. I. 69 speaks of the armament of Xerxes as αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλόντα. — τράπεσθαι (Ionic present passive), in apposition with χρήμα.

17. παλήσειε, *should suffer* : cf. ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ (G. 248). — σημαίνειν depends on προσετέτακτο and also on ἐτοίμων. — ἐς ἀναβολάς, *with delay*. The fleet had suffered so severely in the engagements, — half of the Athenian ships being disabled, — that it had already determined to withdraw ; and, by advice of Themistocles, the Greeks were slaughtering the cattle of the Euboeans for their own supplies.

18. περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, i. e. on the northern shore of Euboea, where the Persians would land for drinking-water. — ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας : Attica was called the parent city of the Ionians in Asia Minor. — μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε (G. 184, 3, κ. 5), i. e. *be neutral*.

Page 163. — καὶ αὐτοί, opposed to τῶν Καρῶν. — ἡ ἔχθρη . . . γέγονε : i. e. in the assistance given by Athens in the Ionic revolt. — βασιλεία, object of λαθόντα. — ἐπίτε ἀνεναχθῇ : Herodotus occasionally omits δὴ in this construction, contrary to the usage in Attic prose (G. 234 ; 223, κ. 2). — διαβληθῇ (sc. τὰ γράμματα), *should be misrepresented* (G. 248, κ.).

In the interval which follows, Xerxes is said to have brought the soldiers of his fleet to Thermopylae, that they might view the Grecian dead, — concealing the trenches where 20,000 of his own dead lay buried, — “truly a laughable device,” says Herodotus, “which deceived nobody ; on one side a thousand men lying about the field [as if these were all the Persians had lost], and on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.” He is also related to have asked of some Arcadian deserters what the Greeks were doing. “Holding the Olympic games,” was the reply, and “seeing

wrestling and chariot-races." "And for what prize?" he asked. "An olive-wreath to the winner." Upon which a Persian officer exclaimed, "What men are these against whom we are brought out to fight?—men who contend with one another for honor, and not for gain!" At this time, too, the Thessalians (who had an old border-feud with the Phocians) sent a messenger into Phocis, offering, for a ransom of fifty talents, to save the district from being ravaged by the Persians: to which the Phocians replied, that they were free as the Thessalians to make friends with the Medes, if they chose; but they would never of their own will be traitors to the liberties of Greece. This heroic answer greatly endeared them in later times to the Athenians; but the opinion of Herodotus was, that their ancient hate would have led them to choose the side opposite to the Thessalians, whichever that had been.

19. *ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα*: it is strange that Herodotus represents the whole army of Xerxes as marching into Boeotia by the road which leads through Doris and Central Phocis by the valley of the Cephissus, — a road which, by crossing a mountain ridge, avoided the pass of Thermopylae altogether. Stein remarks, that probably a part of the army at least passed through Thermopylae and took the upper road, which appears from the names of towns on that route which were burned by the Persians. This road also would be the only one practicable for the cavalry. — *ποδῶν*, *footlet* or *spur* (see Lexicon). — *ἡ περ* refers to Doris. — *μητρόπολις*, i. e. the starting-place of the Dorian emigration: the earlier home of the race was in Thessaly. — *οὐκ ἐδόκει*, i. e. the Thessalians advised against it.

20. *ἡ κορυφή*, the name Tithorea was given to one of the summits in the mass of mountains called Parnassus: the place here mentioned was probably a natural fortress described by Plutarch (Sull. 15), below the highest peak of Tithorea; the present Velitza. — *κατὰ Νέωνα*, at (or above) Neon. — *καμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς*, *lying by itself*, i. e. a solitary peak. — *ἀνηνέκαντο*, understand *their possessions*.

21. *Παραποταμίους*, "*Riverside*," a town and people of the same name on the Cephissus.

Page 164. — *τὰς δὲ πόλεις . . . ἰσχυζον*, *were protecting their cities*, i. e. when the Persians entered Boeotia.

23. *εἰτε . . . κατὸρρέωσι*, (G. 244): the direct question being *κατορύξωμεν*; *shall we bury them?* (G. 256). — *αὐτοῖς* before *εἶναι* is adjective (G. 138, N. 8). — *πέρα* (G. 191, N. 4). — *πέραν*, i. e. across the Gulf of Corinth. — *Κορύκιον ἄντρον*, the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, was high above Delphi, in the side of one of the heights of Parnassus. It is described as about 300 feet deep, 40 feet high, and abounding in stalactites.

Page 165. — 24. *ἀπάρων*, *were in sight of*. — *Προνητῆς*, a title of the Delphian Athena (Attic *Προναία*), who was so called because her temple stood on the way leading to the great temple of Apollo, being thus *before*

*the temple* (πρὸ ναοῦ). — διὰ πάντων, *above all*: διὰ has occasionally (in Herodotus as in the poets, not in Attic writers) a meaning of *pre-eminence, of going through or beyond*.

25. δύο κορυφαί (G. 138, N. 6), great masses of rock detached from the mountain and thrown down, probably, by the defenders: many such fragments are now to be seen in the pass. — τοῦ Βοιωτῶν (G. 182, 2). — μέγας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, *of more than human stature*: ἔχοντας cannot be correct here unless there is some error in the preceding words.

26. τούτους τοὺς belong to ἥρωας. — τῆς Κασταλῆς, the famous fountain of Castalia, which flows from the cleft between the two lofty peaks, the Φαιδριάδες, which overhang Delphi. One of these peaks was called Hyampeia. These two peaks above Delphi have caused the idea that the chief peak of Parnassus, Lycoreia, has a double crest.

Page 166. — 27. τὸ ποιητέον = ὁ ποιητέον, as indirect question. — ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι (v. καθ-ήκω) πρήγμασι, *on the circumstances that had arisen* (or *come in*), like the Attic τὰ καθεστῶτα. — τῶν . . οὐδέν, *nothing of the kind*. — οἱ δέ, the Athenians: see note on III. § 38, above. — ἀπέναι (v. ἀφίημι) depends irregularly on ἐπυνθάνοντο, which takes the participle ταίχοντας regularly (G. 280).

28. Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν, for Ἀθηναίων τινὰ τῇ (= ἡ) δύναται σῶζειν. — ἐς Τροιζήνα: Troezen, on the Argolic coast, was a seafaring place, sacred to Poseidon, and inhabited by an Ionic people kindred to the Athenians. It deserves to be remembered to the honor of the Troezenians, that they received the Athenian exiles "with eager good-will," and "passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them." (Plutarch, Them. 10.) — τῷ χρηστῆρῳ, that with reference to the "wooden walls." — ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, in the temple of Athena Polias, which formed part of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. Here was preserved the olive-wood statue of the Goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and which was decorated with the costly peplos at the great Panathenaic festival. — ὡς ἔοντι, i. e. to the serpent as *actually existing*, implying some doubt of his reality on the historian's part. — ἐπιμήνια, *monthly food-offerings*. — ὡς . . ἀπολειπυλῆς: it was a common ancient belief, that a city could not be taken or destroyed unless first forsaken by its divinity. Thus the Romans had a formula for summoning forth the Gods of the cities they were about to attack; while the true name of Rome and that of its tutelary divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy who might thus disarm the city of its protector. (See Macrobius, Sat. III. 9.)

Page 167. — 30. προθέντος (for the more common λόγον προθέντος), *having given notice*, the usual formula for opening a debate. — τῶν (= ὧν) χωρίων, by attraction for ἔκον χωρίων τῶν ἐγκρατεῖς εἰσὶ, in which of the places they were themselves masters of. — ἐπιλέγοντες, as if ἐλεγον or ἐγνώσαν

had preceded. — *ἴνα, where.* — *πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἴσθμῷ*, supply *έόντες* from the clause with *μέν*.

31. *ἦκειν*, *had* (already) *come* (G. 200, N. 3); but *πυρπολέεσθαι* (regular present), *was burning*: so with *ἦκε* and *έδητου* below.

Page 168. — 32. *τρισὶ μηνσί*: it was now September, B. C. 480, on the 20th of which the battle of Salamis was fought. — *ἀρχοντος*, *being Archon*, i. e. Eponymus for the year: see note on Xen. Hell. 2, III. 1. — *τὸ ἄστυ*, *the city proper*, all within the circuit of the walls. — *ταμίαις*, *stewards*, having charge of the temple-treasures.

33. *Ἀρήϊον πάγον*, the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill. — *δκως . . . ἄψααν* (G. 233). — *ένεδέκοντο*, *did they entertain them*, i. e. the proposals of the exiled family of Pisistratus.

34. *έκ τῶν ἀπόρων*: *ἀπορα* is used like *ἀπορία*. — *έμπροσθε*: the north side of the Acropolis is still sometimes called *the front*; the gateway and the only entrance are on the west side. — *ἤλπισε* has here so much force of *apprehension* that it takes *μή* and the optative like *έφοβήθη* (G. 218): for *ἤλπισε ἄν*, see G. 226, 2. — *ίρὸν . . . Ἀγλαύρου*: the Aglaurium, a sanctuary which commemorated the place where Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself from the Acropolis.

Page 169. — *πρὸς τὰς πύλας*, the gates of the temple, in the precincts of which they had ascended.

35. *Ἀρταβάνφ*: an uncle of Xerxes, who had been left in chief authority at the Persian capital, although he had attempted to dissuade Xerxes from his expedition against Greece.

36. *γηνέϊος*, *born of the Earth*: see II. II. 548, *τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα*. The temple of Erechtheus was one of the three temples united in the building commonly called the Erechtheum; a second was the temple of Athena Polias (see note on § 28, above); the third was the Pandroseum, which contained the sacred olive-tree planted by Athena, and the salt spring (*θάλασσα*) made by the stroke of Poseidon's trident. These were *proofs* (*μαρτύρια*) offered by the rival deities in their famous contest for the possession of Athens, which was represented by Phidias in the group of statues on the western pediment of the Parthenon. — *δσον τε*, *about*, like *ώς* with words denoting number or size: the *τέ* is a poetic addition (not Attic) allowed by Herodotus (G. 151, N. 4).

37. *κυρωθῆναι* depends on *έμενον*, which sometimes takes the infinitive in the sense of *waiting for* something to be done. — *πρήγμα*, *subject* of discussion (see § 30, above).

Page 170. — *καὶ οἱ* (G. 151, N. 3).

38. *περὶ οὐδεμῆς . . . ναυμαχίσεις*, i. e. *you will no longer have any country to fight for* (for *οὐ . . . οὐδεμῆς*, see G. 283, 8). — *μή οὐ* (G. 283, 7). — *ἀναγνώσαι*, *to prevail upon*: this meaning of *ἀναγνώσκω* is not found in Attic.

39. *συνμίζειν*, *communicare*. — *ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος*, *making* (or *representing*) *them as his own*.

40. *τῶν ἐνεκεν* (relative), = *τούτων ὧν*, &c.: *τούτων* depending on *λόγον*. — *πολλός*, *frequent* or *urgent*; i. e. *he had much to say*. — *ἀπολύμενος*, *in his defence, sese purgans*. — *οἱ ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι*, *they who do not enter the lists*.

Page 171. — 41. *ἀναξεύξης*, *break up, move off*; lit. *yoke up*, used properly of moving by land. — *ἀναπτεταμένῳ*, *open* (as a bird with its wings spread), in contrast with the narrow waters at Salamis. — *ἐς τό* (relative), supply *ἀνάγειν* or some similar verb. — *βαρύτερας* (if correct) must mean *heavier in movement, not larger*. — *σφείας*, the Persians. — *κινδυνεύσεις* . . . Ἑλλάδι: compare *κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ* in III. 27.

42. *τοσάδε*, *the following* (G. 148, N. 1). — *πρὸς ἡμῶν*, *for our advantage*. — *ἐς τήν* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἐν αὐτοῖσι* (as above), i. e. *in what I propose*. — *μένων* = *ἦν μένης* (G. 226, 1).

43. *περιοῦσι*: cf. *περιγίνεται* in § 42. — *λόγιον* refers to the oracle, II. § 35. — *οἰκότα* is object of *βουλευομένοισι*, and is also understood as subject of *ἐθέλει*, which here is used like *φιλεῖ* = *solet*. — *βουλευομένοισι* before *οὐκ ἐθέλει* is *dat. commodi*.

Page 172. — *πρός*, *according to, in obedience to*.

44. *τῷ μὴ ἔστι* (G. 238): *μὴ* shows that there is a conditional as well as a causal force in the relative clause. — *ἐπιψηφίζεν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ*, *to put a question to vote for* (i. e. *on the motion of*) *a man without a country*. — *οὕτω συμβάλλεσθαι*, *then* (i. e. *after declaring his country*) *to join in proposing opinions*. — *ἑωυτοῖσι*, *to himself and his fellow-citizens*. — *ἔστ' ἂν*, *so long as*: the subjunctive in the direct discourse depends on *ἔστι* (here changed to *εἴη*), which has a future (as well as present) sense; the idea being, *we can certainly be said to have a country, so long as we have 200 ships to show*.

45. *ἐπιστραμμένα* (v. *ἐπιστρέφω*), *pressing, emphatic*. — *εἰ μενέας καὶ ἔσται*: the apodosis is suppressed, *it will be well*. — *τὸ πᾶν . . . φέρουσι*, i. e. *with them rests the whole fortune of war*. — *οἰκέτας*, (here) *our households*. — *Σίριν*, a town near Sybaris in Southern Italy. — *καὶ . . . αὐτήν*, *and which* (G. 156): a relative is seldom repeated in a new case, but a personal or demonstrative takes its place.

46. *δοκίαν*, used absolutely (G. 268). — *μὴ . . . ἀπολίπωσι* (G. 218; 216, 2). — *οὐκέτι* belongs to *ἀξιόμαχοι* — *οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα* (G. 141, N. 3): *ἀκροβολισάμενοι*, *after skirmishing*.

Page 173. — *Αἰακίδας*: among the descendants of *Aeacus* were *Peleus* and his son *Achilles*. It is not to be supposed that the ship was sent for images of these heroes; but it was believed that they would come in person, though unseen, to help the Greeks.

47. *Δημαρτήψ*: see note on III. § 57. — *Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ*, between *Parnes* and *Eleusis*. — *δτεὼν κοτε εἴη*, indirect question, like *δ τι εἴη* (below). — *πρόκατε* (= *πρόκα τε*), *suddenly, all at once*. — *ἱαχον*, the song sung by



the procession of the initiated (*μύσται* or *μεμνημένοι*) as they marched along the Sacred Way from Athens to the temple at Eleusis at the annual festival of Demeter: the name comes from the frequent recurrence of the verse *Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε*, in which Dionysus (or Bacchus) was invoked under the name of Iacchus.

48. *αὐτός* belongs to the omitted subject of *εἶπαι* (see G. 138, N. 8): *ἔφη* is still understood. — *ἐρήμου ἐούσης*, causal. — *Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ*, to Demeter (the Earth-mother or Ceres) and Core (the Daughter, Proserpine or Persephone; *Κόρη*, Ionic *Κούρη*). — *μυεῖται*, is initiated: the term probably refers to the candidates for initiation having their eyes closed or covered. — *τὴν φωνήν* (G. 159).

Page 174. — 49. *οὐδὲ εἷς*, *ne unus quidem*, more emphatic than the simple *οὐδέ τις*. — *ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ*, *after the dust*. — *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος*, *towards Salamis*; but *ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον*, *into the camp*. — *καταπτόμενος*, *calling to witness*; properly used of *clinging* to the image of a God who is invoked.

50. *θηησάμενοι*: see note after § 18, above. — *Φαλήρῃ*, the old port of Athens; see map, and note on Xen. Hell., top of p. 43.

Herodotus now describes a discussion (here omitted), in which an immediate attack on the Greek fleet at Salamis was urged by all the Persian commanders except Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus. She advised distracting the Greeks by threatening various parts of their coast with attack. But her counsel seemed timid and slow, and was overruled by the majority, whom Xerxes followed. Herodotus also remarks, that the army and navy of Xerxes, when they reached Attica, were as numerous as they had been before the storm at Sepias and the battles at Artemisium and Thermopylae, the losses being made up by accessions from the Greeks. This, however, may well be questioned.

The movement mentioned in the words *ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα*, seems to have consisted in sailing across to some position southeast of Salamis, from which an attack could be made the next day on the Athenian fleet, which was lying in the Bay of Salamis (on the east side of the island). — *ὅτι . . . μέλλοιεν* (G. 250, N.).

51. *ἔπορεύετο*, *began its march*. — *συχχάσαντες*, *having destroyed (dug away)*: the road along the shore from Megara to Corinth is here artificially made on the steep side of the Scironian cliff (*Σκιρωνίδες*), and it is still rendered impassable by an ordinary rain-storm. This is the place at which the robber Sciron kicked travellers into the sea, until he was himself served in the same way by Theseus. (He has resumed his old business in later years, and a new Theseus is sadly needed there.)

Page 175. — *φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις*, *gabions*.

52. *περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θίοντες*, *running a race for the whole*, i. e. *having everything at stake*. — *ἄνθρωποι ἀνδρὶ παραστάς*, *each man with his neighbor*. — *τέλος* (G. 160, 2. — *ἐξερράγη*, the excitement broke out (like a storm). — *οἱ μὲν*, as if *πολλοὶ ἔλαγον* preceded; to this corresponds *Ἀθη-*

ναῖοι δέ, &c. — ἀμύνεσθαι depends on some word like καλεόντες understood with Ἀθηναῖοι, &c.

53. λαθόν, *secretly*. — ἐπεδίκοντο πολίτας: after the great losses sustained at Thermopylae and later at Plataea, Thespiae was obliged to admit new citizens. This Sicinnus was an Asiatic by birth, and probably spoke Persian. — λάβρη = λάβρα (G. 182, 2). — φρονέων τὰ βασιλῆος, *favoring the King's cause*. — παρέχα, *affords you an opportunity*.

Page 176. — περιβητε διαδράντας, *allow to escape*: notice the tense of the participle (G. 279, 8). — πρὸς αὐτοὺς, *against each other* (G. 146, π. 8).

The first object of Themistocles was certainly to make a retreat of the Greek fleet impossible, as he believed that thus only could the progress of Xerxes be checked. He also wished to divert the attention of the Persian commanders from their original plan of attack to an entirely new one of cutting off a retreat, thus making them careless at the critical moment, and perhaps inducing them to divide their fleet. It can hardly be doubted, however, that here — as in his later stratagem (§ 85) — he had a crafty scheme for “laying up treasure” (ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι, § 84) with the King, in case the Greek cause should fail or he himself (as actually happened) should be driven to seek the protection of Persia.

54. τοῦτο δέ, *secondly*. — ἀνήγον . . . Σαλαμίνα, *they brought their west wing up to Salamis, sailing round the island* (or *surrounding the island*, i. e. with ships stationed at important points). This refers to the ships which formed the west wing as they were stationed the evening before the battle (see note on § 50). — οἱ ἀμφὶ . . . Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, *those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura*: it is now generally agreed that this Cynosura must be some point of Salamis, and not the Cynosura of the bay of Marathon. The word (lit. *dog's tail*) means simply a *long point of land*, and the eastern point of Salamis suits the description better than any other. Ceos must be some place or point in the immediate neighborhood. — κατεῖχον . . . πορθμόν: the ships just mentioned, which were lying off Cynosura at nightfall, now advanced and blockaded the channel between Salamis and the peninsula of Piraeus (in which is Munychia). — ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων (cf. πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων, above), sc. *τινάς* (G. 170, 1). — ὥς . . . ἔξοισομένων, *because (they thought) both the men and the wrecks would be especially likely to be brought ashore here*. — ἐν πύρῳ, &c., i. e. *in the passage where the battle was to be fought*.

The description of Herodotus, thus interpreted, agrees in all essential points with that of Aeschylus. The great tragedian, who had fought in the Athenian ranks of Marathon, was also in the battle of Salamis. It is to be assumed that no account of the position of the Persian fleet on that eventful morning can be correct, which does not agree with his description in the “Persians.” This tragedy, exhibited in Athens in 472 B. C., contains a graphic account of the battle, which a messenger, just arrived at the Persian court from Salamis, narrates to Queen Atossa, the mother of

**Xerxes.** The three principal points mentioned by Herodotus in § 54 are prominent in Aeschylus. The landing of Persian troops on Psyttaleia, and their slaughter, are made a most important part of the story (see note on § 75). The stratagem of Themistocles is mentioned as the chief cause of the Persian defeat. In consequence of this, Xerxes first orders a triple line of ships "to guard the passage out and the roaring straits" (i. e. the southern entrance of the straits of Salamis); then "others ("to guard," or "to sail") in a circle round the isle of Ajax" (i. e. Salamis). The former are the ships described by Herodotus as holding "all the channel as far as Munychia"; the latter must be "the west wing," which the Persians bring round to Salamis (κυκλούμενοι). This last is made clearer by the statement of Diodorus, that Xerxes sent round the Egyptian ships to blockade the passage between the northwest point of Salamis and the mainland of Megara. This is the movement to which Aristides refers in § 58. We may suppose that other ships were placed at other points around Salamis, where they would be of service if the Greeks made their expected attempt to escape by night. Aeschylus then describes the disappointment of the Persians when no signs of flight appeared; and their consternation, at break of day, when, as the sun rose, they heard the solemn pæan—the war-cry of the Greeks—and the blast of the trumpet echo from the hills of Salamis. He represents the attack as begun by a Greek ship. The battle seems to have been fought chiefly within the straits, so that the Persian right extended towards Eleusis, and their left towards Piræus (§ 62). The Persians probably advanced in line from the open sea into the narrows, where they were soon thrown into confusion from want of room. Aeschylus speaks of the *stream* (ῥεύμα) of the Persian fleet, which probably refers to their mode of entering the straits. The Persians were so soon thrown into confusion, that the fight must have rapidly lost its regularity, and probably no systematic plan of the Greek commander was carried out. This explains the confused accounts which we have of the progress of the battle, as to which Herodotus (§ 64) confesses himself unable to give details.

The battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of September, 480 B. C.

55. *συνεστηκότων, in conflict* (see note on II. § 36, above). — 'Αριστομένης: Aristides, who had been one of the generals at Marathon, was banished from Athens by *ostracism* (see Dict. of Antiquities) in 482 B. C.; but his sentence had been revoked since the invasion of Xerxes had begun, on the motion of Themistocles, his bitter enemy and rival. Recalled too late to return to Athens, he thus joined the Athenians in their camp at Salamis the night before the eventful battle, bringing news of the movement of the Persians which was most welcome to Themistocles.

Page 177. — 56. *περὶ τοῦ, &c., on the question, &c* — *ἔσθ' ἔστι, it is all one.* — *Πελοποννησίοισι* is to be joined with *ἀποπλέου.*

57. *ἐξ ἐμέο, at my instigation.* — *παραστήσασθαι, to bring them over, i. e. to my opinion.* — *ὥς οὐ ποιεύντων . . . ταῦτα, because (as they will say) the barbarians are not really doing this* (G. 277, N. 2).

58. *ἦκαν καὶ ἐκπλῶσαι*, indirect discourse for *ἦκαν καὶ ἐξέπλωσαν*. — *τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας* shows that the sea between Salamis and Aegina was occupied during the night by part of the Persian fleet (see note on § 54).

Page 178. — *ἐπαίθοντο* here takes the accusative, as in II. § 34.

59. *ἐς τὸν τρίποδα*: this tripod was erected after the battle of Plataea. A portion of the pedestal, 16 feet high, is now in Constantinople; and the names of the states which "overthrew the Barbarian" (including the Tenians) are still to be read in the Doric inscription. (See Rawlinson's Herodotus, IV. p. 395.) — *τῇ Δημνίῃ*: see § 11, above. — *κατέδεε*, supply *τὸ ναυτικόν*.

60. *τῶν Τηνίων* is adnominal genitive with *ῥήματα* where we should expect *ὑπό* and the genitive with *λεγόμενα*. — *καὶ οἱ* (G. 151, N. 3) . . . *ποιησάμενοι*, used irregularly for the genitive absolute, as if other speakers besides Themistocles were to be mentioned in apposition. — *ἐπιβατέων*, *marines, fighting men on a ship*, as opposed to sailors and rowers: *ἐπιβάτης* originally means any one who *embarks* (*ἐπιβαίνει*); see below, § 89. — *προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα ἐκ πάντων*, i. e. *made the best speech of all*. — *τὰ δὲ ἔτεα* . . . *ἀντιτιθέμενα*, and his words throughout contrasted things nobler with things baser. — *δοσα* refers to *τούτων*. — *καταστάσι*, *constitution*. — *καταπλέξας*, *having brought to an end*. — *τριήρης*: see § 46, above. — *ἀνήγον*, *got under way*, i. e. *began to advance*: in the next line, the middle is used in the same way, without *νέας*.

61. *ἐπεκείατο*, *were close upon them*. — *ἐπὶ πρόμνην ἀνακρούεσθαι* (also without *ἐπὶ*) is *to back water*: the statement is, that most of the ships at first backed water and were on the point of running ashore on the island behind them. — *ἐξαναχθεῖς*, *advancing from the line*. Ameinias is said to have been a brother of Aeschylus; another brother, Cynegeirus, fell at Marathon (I. § 20). — *φάνεισαν* agrees with *γυναῖκα* implied in the preceding accusative.

Page 179. — *ἀνακρούεσθε* (G. 200, N. 7).

62. *κατά*, *opposed to*. — *πρὸς ἐσπέρης* and *πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ* here are north-west and southeast; Eleusis and the Piraeus giving the general direction of the Persian line. — *Θεμιστοκλῆος ἐντολάς*; see § 18, above. — *χρήσομαι* . . . *οὐδέν* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — *εὐεργέτης ἀνεγράφη*: "*Recording the name* is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia as the highest object of man's ambition. See Esther vi. 1." (Rawlinson.)

63. *τῶν νεῶν*, i. e. Persian, as *τούτους* refers to certain Persians. — *ἔμελλε* . . . *συνολίσεσθαι*, *the result was bound to be such, &c.* — *ἦσαν καὶ ἐγίνοντο*, *were and proved themselves*. — *αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν*, *compared with themselves* (i. e. at other times): the comparative here takes two constructions, a genitive and a clause with *ἤ*, the former being inserted merely for emphasis.

64. *μετεξέτερος*, *individuals*. — *Ἀρτεμισίην*: as Artemisia was queen

of Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, he makes more special mention of her. (See also note on § 50, above.) — *καὶ ἥ* : see below.

Page 180. — *ἔμπροσθε γάρ* : the clause introduced by *γάρ* ends with *δοῦσα*, after which *ἔδοξε οἱ*, it pleased her, irregularly takes the place of a personal verb belonging to *καὶ ἥ*. — *πρὸς . . . μάλιστα*, close upon. — *τὸ καὶ συνήνακε*, which succeeded too : see § 66, below. — *φέρειουσα*, bearing down. — *ἀνδρῶν τε . . . καὶ* : this implies that the ship was *not only* (τέ) manned by Calyndians, *but also* (καὶ) bore the king (!) of Calynda (a Carian town) : *ἐπιπλάωντος* is genitive absolute.

65. *εἰ μὲν καὶ τι . . . ἐγγόνει*, even if we admit that she had had some quarrel with him, still, &c. — *μέντοι* is used like *δέ* in apodosis (G. 227, 2). — *παραπισοῦσα* : Herodotus used *συγκυρέω* (as well as *συμπίπτω*) with the participle, like *τυγχάνω* in Attic (G. 279, 2).

66. *ἀπὸ τούτων*, by what she had done (not especially *κακόν*). — *καὶ τὸν* (G. 143, 2) : so *καὶ τοὺς*. — *φάσαι*, assented (imperfect). — *ἐπισταμένους*, recognizing ; but *ἠπιστάτο*, believed (wrongly). — *αὐτῇ συνήνακε*, proved fortunate for her (Krüger), as in § 64, above ; *γενόμενα* being causal : but *συνήνακε* may perhaps be taken with *γενόμενα*, happened to result fortunately, like *συνεκέρησε* in § 65 (we have, however, *συνήνακε γενέσθαι* in § 66). — *καὶ τὸ . . . γενέσθαι*, and especially the circumstance, that, &c., referring to *τά τε ἄλλα*. — *γεγόνασί μοι* (G. 184, 3, N. 5).

67. *ἀπὸ δέ* (sc. *ἔθανον*) = *ἀπέθανον*.

Page 181. — *ἐν χειρῶν νόμφ*, in the hand-to-hand conflict. — *ἀποδεξόμενοι* here belongs to *ἀποδείκνυμι*, as *ἀποδεξάμενοι* in II. § 17 : see note on I. § 6 (p. 114).

68. *ὥς . . . ἀπολοῖατο* (G. 122, 2), i. e. that the collision was not accidental. — *ὥς προδόντων*, sc. *τῶν Ἰώνων*, became (as the Phoenicians charged, ὥς) they had been traitors : the genitive absolute is more emphatic than the simpler *ὥς προδόντας* would have been. — *τοιόνδε*, as follows. — *κατεδύετο . . . κατέδυσε* : notice the difference in the voice and the tense. — *τῆς καταδυσάσης νεός*, the ship which had sunk them. — *ἔσχον*, took possession (not had or held).

69. *ἐκέλευσε*, sc. *τινάς* as subject of *ἀποταμεῖν*. — *αὐτοί* refers to the Phoenicians generally, who were to be taught a lesson. — *ὅκως . . . ἴδοι*, whenever he saw (G. 233). — *ὑπό*, at the foot of : the eminence on which Xerxes sat during the battle is low compared with the higher mountain of which it is a projection. — *πατρόθεν*, i. e. adding his father's name to his own, in the Athenian style. — *προσεβόλετο . . . πάθειος*, i. e. he contributed somewhat (τι) to this disaster of the Phoenicians (G. 170). — *φίλος ἑών*, sc. *τοῖς Ἴωσι*.

Page 182. — 70. *ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ*, between Psyttaleia and the Piræus. The battle was fought between Salamis and the mainland, so that this remote position of the Aeginetans could still be called in the channel : hence *ἐκπλώντων* and *ἐκπλούστας*.

71. διέκονσα νία, (sc. πολέμην). — τὴν προφυλάσσουσιν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ : see note on III. § 5. — κατακωπέντα, *badly mangled, cut up*. — τῆς στρατηγίδος, *the flag-ship* (of Themistocles). — ἐς τὸν μηδισμόν refers to the charges made against the Aeginetans before the battle of Marathon : see I. § 3. — ὑπό, *to the protection of*.

72. ἤκουσαν δριστα, *gained the greatest glory* : εἶ (or κακῶς) ἀκοῦν = bene (or male) audire. — Ἀρτεμισίην : see § 65, and note on § 64. — πρότερον ἢ εἶλε = πρὶν εἶλε, *before he had captured, priusquam cepisset* (G. 240, 1 ; 232, 2). — ἥ after μιν = or. — δε ἂν ὧν, [to anybody] *who should take her alive* (G. 248). — γυναῖκα : so Demosthenes afterwards resented the Athenians' fear of the later queen Artemisia of Caria (the builder of the Mausoleum), calling her βαρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα, *a barbarian, and a woman at that*.

Page 183. — ἦσαν δὲ . . . Φαλήρῃ repeats the statement of the last sentence in § 71, after the digression.

73. ὡς δὲ . . . γίνεσθαι, *and when they came, &c.* (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος : this was probably on the southern point of Salamis. — οὔτε τι . . . εἰδῶσι for οὐδέν τι . . . εἰδῶσι. — ἤρῳντο (v. ἀράομαι), *prayed*.

74. οἰοί τε, *ready*. — ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις, *after all was over*. — οὐ μέντοι, &c.: Herodotus, who evidently disbelieved this story, (as Rawlinson remarks) "recorded it more on account of its poetic character than from ill-will towards Corinth."

75. κατεφόνευσαν : this is represented by the messenger in the *Persians* of Aeschylus as taking place after the battle, and as the worst disaster of the day. The Persian here slain are called "the finest, the bravest, the noblest, and the first in the King's confidence." (See § 54, above.)

Page 184. — 76. Κωλιάδα : this was on the Attic coast, a little more than two miles southeast of Phalerum. — ἀποπλήσαι, *to fulfil*, governs τὸν χρησμόν, which is explained by τὸν τε ἄλλον . . . Μουσαίῳ, and irregularly by τὸ ἀρημένον, &c.: for the latter we should expect τὸν κατὰ τὰ ναυηγία . . . εἰρημένον. — ἐλελήθει, *had escaped the notice of*. — φρέξουσι in the oracle must mean *shall roast* (i. e. *cook*) with the wood of the oars which shall drift ashore. The MSS. have φρέξουσι, which might mean *shall shudder* at the sight of oars (?). The following words, ἀπελάσαντες βασιλείας, favor the common emendation φρέξουσι.

77. χῶμα διαχοῦν, *to build a mole or dam* from the Attic shore to Salamis. He also (τῷ) began a bridge of boats, and pretended to be preparing for another sea-fight, while he was really planning a retreat (δρησμόν). — ἐκ παντὸς νόου, *in real earnest*. — πολέμῃσιν is irregular after παρσκευάσται (G. 202, 3).

78. παραγίνεται, *travels* (lit. *comes in, arrives*). — οὕτω, *with such skill*.

Page 185. — ὅσων ἂν ᾖ (G. 225). — μή οὐ (G. 283, 7 ; 263, 1, N.). —

κατ' ἄλλον, *by one after another*, a strange expression (perhaps a mistake) for κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον. — λαμπαδηφορία, *torch-race*, like λαμπάς (I. § 7).

80. Μαρδόνιον: see below, § 86. — παρσόμενον, *in attempt*, i. e. *so far as he could*, belongs to the subject of ποίειν. — ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, *thus far did matters advance*. — ὡς τάχως εἶχε (G. 168, N. 3). — διαφυλαξούσας . . . βασιλέϊ, *to guard the bridges for the King's passage* (G. 265). — Ζωστήρος: Zôster is a promontory of Attica about half-way between the Piraeus and Sunium. — ἐπὶ πολλόν, *to a great distance*.

Page 186. — 81. ἤλπιζον, *they supposed*, followed by εἶναι in indirect discourse (G. 203).

82. εἰ λύσουσι . . . τοῦτ' ἂν . . . ἐργάσαιντο: the direct form would have the same tenses and moods (G. 227, 1). — ἡσυχίην μὴ ἔχειν, *to avoid keeping quiet*. — ἀγοντι μὲν = ἐὰν μὲν ἀγῇ (G. 226, 1). — οὔτε . . . ἔσται, *neither can anything succeed*. — κομιδῇ, *return*. — τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ καρπὸν, *the harvest of each successive year*. — ἀλλά belongs to ἐπίτεον εἶναι (sc. ἔφη). — ἐς δ' ἔλθῃ, *until he comes*, without ἂν (G. 232, 3; 234).

83. μεταβαλόν, *turning*, i. e. from the others to the Athenians. — ὥρμέατο, *were eager (set out)*. — καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, *even taking it upon themselves*, i. e. *on their own responsibility*. — ἄλλοι = οἱ ἄλλοι.

Page 187. — πολλοῖσι, *many occasions*. — ἀναλαμβάνειν, *retrieve*. — εὐρημα, *good luck or godsend*: the idea is, that the rescue of ourselves and of Greece is a piece of special good fortune.

84. καταβάλλων τὰ ἀγάλματα: the Persian religion, like the Jewish, was uncompromisingly hostile to idols (iconoclastic). A Persian therefore might commit acts with no sacrilegious intent which would be gross impiety in the eyes of a Greek. — ἀπεμαστίζωσι: see II. § 9, above. — ἀλλ' . . . γάρ, *but, since*. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι (G. 270), *let us care for*: we should expect δεῖ here. — καὶ τις (G. 150, N.). — ἀποθήκην: see note on § 53. — τὰ περ ἐγένετο: Themistocles took refuge in Persia after the death of Xerxes, when he claimed the favor of the King on the ground of the services rendered to the Persian cause at this time, confessing and boasting that his action had been treacherous to the Greeks. It may be doubted whether he deceived the Greeks, or the Persians, or both. Grote remarks: "There existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. . . . Moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful."

85. διέβαλλε, *deceived them*. — Connect σιγᾶν τὰ (= δ) ἐνετεῖλατο.

Page 188. — ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω: after this, Themistocles sent threatening messages to many of the Greek islanders, by which he extorted large sums of money, which laid the foundation of his great wealth of 80 or 100 talents. At Andros he demanded payment in the name of "those mighty Gods of Athens, Persuasion and Necessity"; but the Andrians refused in

the name of their "two unprofitable Gods, who never desert their island, Poverty and Helplessness," and submitted to a siege, in which they baffled all the efforts of the Athenians.

86. *ἔδοξε* with *προτίμῃ* (G. 202) means *it seemed good*; but with *εἶναι* (G. 203) it means *it seemed*, and so with the following infinitive. — *οὐκ ἔφη*, i. e. *said that he would not*. — *τρίηκοντα μυριάδας*: this is the army which remained in Greece during the winter, and was defeated at Plataea in the following year (479 B. C.).

87. *οὐδὲν μέρος*, i. e. no important part, compared with the host with which he entered.

Page 189. — *ἵνα . . . γίνωτο ἐλαύνων*, *wherever he happened to come in his march*, depends on the frequentative force of *ἐπιτάσσω* (G. 233). — *ἄρμα τοῦ Διὸς*: see note on II. § 13, above. — *ἀπέλαβε*, *receive back*: so *ἀποδίδωμι* means *give back* or *repay*. — *νεμομένας*, *as they were in pasture*, refers to the eight white mares (called simply *ἵπποι λευκοί* in II. 13) which drew the sacred chariot: compare the poetic use of *ἀφ' ἵππων*, &c., referring to the chariot.

88. *τῇσι νηυσί*: see §§ 80 and 96. — *ἐμπιπλάμενοι*, *gorging themselves*.

89. *ἔδε*, *as follows*, after *λεγόμενος*; not *ἔδε λόγος* (without *ὁ*): this is probably a specimen of the tales current in Greece which were invented to malign the servile temper of the Asiatics. — *χαμάλισθαι* (sc. *τὸν βασιλέα*), *was suffering from the storm*. — *ᾧστε* = *ἄτε* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐπιβατέων*, here probably simply *passengers*: see note on § 60.

90. *κηδόμενος* (G. 280). — *οἶκε* = *ἔοικε*.

Page 190. — *ἀποσωθῆναι*, *was brought safe*. — *ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι* (G. 280, 2, N. 2).

91. *οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ . . . πάθος*, *neither in other points, nor as to this which [is said to have] happened to the Persians*. — *ἀντίξουν μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε*, *opposed to the idea that he would have done something like this*: *μὴ* is used because of the negative idea of *ἀντίξοος* (G. 283, 6), while *οὐ* is added because of *οὐκ ἔχω* (G. 283, 7). — *τοὺς μὲν καταβιβάζσαι* (sc. *ἄν*) is added (by apposition) to explain *ποιῆσαι ἄν*; but *ὅπως οὐκ ἄν . . . ἐξέβαλε* reverts to the construction which *ποιῆσαι ἄν* represents (*ἐποίησε ἄν*).

92. *τραπόμενοι*, after the fruitless siege of Andros: see note on § 85. — *ἐγένετο ἀνδριάς*, *a statue was made*.

93. *τῷ γενομένῳ*, *to him who had shown himself*. — *διενέμοντο*, *gave their votes*; lit. *distributed among themselves*, because all voted for some of those present.

Page 191. — *δεύτερα* (adverb), *in the second place*. — *συνεξέπιπτον*, *happened (fell out) to agree*: see § 30. — *ἑμουνούοντο*, *had but one vote apiece*.

94. *ἀκρίτων*, in active sense: Krüger, however, interprets it *undecided*, *with their merits undecided*. — *δριστήϊα μὲν*: we must understand *ἀνδραγαθίης* or some such word; Plutarch says (Them. XVII.), *Εὐρυβιάδῃ μὲν*



*ἀνδρείας, ἰκάνη* (i. e. Themistocles) *δὲ σοφίας ἀριστοτέρων ἔσοσαν*. (Stein will even insert the word in the text.) — *ἑκκαίς*: the 300 knights were the regular body-guard of a Spartan king when he went into battle; Leonidas, however, chose a special band of 300 to accompany him to Thermopylae (see note on III. § 21).

95. *ὧς . . . ἔχου* depends on the idea of *saying* in *ἐπέκκε*. — *Τυρόδημος*: we must suppose this man to have been a native of Belbina, a little island near Sunium, and to have been made an Attic citizen and enrolled in the deme of Aphidnae. Plato and many other writers tell the same story of a Seriphian, without making him a citizen of Athens. — *ἐάν, if I were*, = *εἰ ἦν* (G. 222; 226, 1), and *if thou wert*. — *Ἀθηναῖος* must here mean *born in Athens*.

96. *ναυρούς, sc. σπαρτός*. — *ὃ ἔλειπε περιγενόμενος*, unless *ὃ* is inserted before the participle, will mean *which remained to (belonging to) Xerxes*. — *προσέμυξε, arrived at*. — *Κέρη*, in Aeolis, on the coast of Asia Minor.

In the following spring, the army of Mardonius re-entered Central Greece, and again occupied Athens; the Athenians, as before, retreated to Salamis. At the great battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks were commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, Mardonius was defeated and slain, and his army nearly annihilated. This disaster, with the defeat in the sea-fight at Mycale, on the same day, was the final act of the Persian wars in Greece.

## THUCYDIDES.

THUCYDIDES is by universal consent acknowledged to be the first of Greek historians. The conscientious care with which he collected and sifted his materials, the calm unprejudiced spirit in which he judged both events and persons, the clear conception which he formed of the tendencies of his age, and of the secret springs of political action, and the acuteness displayed in the philosophic observations with which (unfortunately too seldom) he accompanied his narrative, have rarely been equalled and never surpassed. His sole work is the History of the Peloponnesian War, in eight books, which includes the period from the beginning of the war in 431 B. C. to the middle of 411 B. C., where it breaks off suddenly. Xenophon finished the history of the war, and continued the narrative to the battle of Mantinea (in 362 B. C.), in his Hellenica, a work which makes the greatness of Thucydides conspicuous by striking contrast.

Little is known of the life of Thucydides: in the first sentence of

his history he calls himself "an Athenian," and states that he began to write his account of the Peloponnesian War at the very beginning of the struggle, foreseeing its magnitude and the importance of the prize at stake. He elsewhere tells us that he continued his labors until after the end of the war in 404 B. C. (See page 117.)

The passage here given is taken from the fourth book. It contains the account of the fortifications of the Messenian Pylus in 425 B. C. by the Athenians under Demosthenes (the same general who twelve years later fell a victim in the disastrous Sicilian expedition), the attempt of the Spartans to dislodge them, the blockade of the Lacedaemonian force in the little island of Sphacteria, the appointment of Cleon to the chief command, and the final surrender of 292 Lacedaemonians, including 120 real Spartans, — such a prize as had never before fallen into an enemy's hands. The account is especially enlivened by the brilliant and amusing episode of Cleon, the leather-dresser and politician, the great popular leader of the day at Athens, who complained bitterly (and probably with reason) of want of energy in the siege of Sphacteria, saying it would be easy to take the island "if the generals were men," and he would have done it himself if he had been general. Nicias resigned his office of general, and nominated Cleon as his successor. The latter accepted unwillingly, and only in consequence of the clamor of the people; but he did it with the characteristic boast, that within twenty days he would either bring home the Lacedaemonians as prisoners or leave them dead on the island. This promise he actually performed to the letter, and the Spartan prisoners were brought back as Cleon's prize. Thus the attempt of Cleon's enemies to make him ridiculous and to ruin him ended in giving him still greater glory and wider influence.

The present extract begins with the second chapter of the fourth book, and ends with the forty-first. About one third of the whole passage, as it stands in Thucydides, is here omitted.

Page 192. — 1. τοῦ ἔπος, i. e. the spring of 425 B. C. — ἤγαστο δὲ, &c., a form of words often used by Thucydides in describing the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica, of which this was the fifth. — τὰς . . . ναῦς, i. e. the ships mentioned at the end of Book III. In the preceding winter Athens had voted to send 40 ships to Sicily, and had chosen three commanders, one of whom, Pythodorus, went immediately; — whence the two others are called here τοὺς ὑπολοίπους.

2. ἅμα παραπλέοντας, as they coasted along (G. 277, N. 1). Corcyra (Corfu) lay on the route by which the Athenians usually sailed to Sicily, following the coast as far as possible. — φυγάδων: these were of the expelled oligarchial party, restored and sustained by the Spartans: they had already (B. C. 427) provoked a bloody and desperate revolution in Corcyra. —

αὐτοῖς, i. e. to Corcyra. — καὶ λιμοῦ ὄντος, &c.: here καὶ connects τιμωροὶ and νομίζοντες, while ὄντος is causal. — κατασχέσαν τὰ πράγματα, *that they should gain the mastery*. — ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Demosthenes had commanded an army in Acarnania the year before. — αὐτῷ δεηθέντι, *at his own request*.

3. ἐγένοντο . . . κατὰ τὴν Δ., *arrived off the coast of Laconia*. — ἠπείγοντο, *wished to press on* (G. 200, N. 2).

4. ἤξιον, *called upon them, asked them*.

Page 193. — εὐπορίαν, sc. οὖσαν (G. 280). — ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας, i. e. *a large extent of the country*: ἐπὶ πολὺ is used as a neuter noun and one of the subjects of ὄν (see § 16). — σταδίου, i. e. about 46 miles. — ποτὲ οὖσῃ (G. 204, N. 1). — τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν, *to put the state to expense*.

5. ὕστερον . . . κοινώσας, implying that he communicated his plan to them without success. — ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, i. e. detained by the storm which brought them into Pylus. — περιστᾶσιν, *coming round, or setting to work* (Arnold), agreeing with στρατιώταις. — λογάδην, *picking the stones*, an adverb of manner. — ὥς . . . ξυμβαίνοι, *as each piece happened to fit* (G. 233). — πηλόν, *mortar*. — ἐγκεκυφότες (sc. οὕτως) ὥς, *stooping [in such a way] that, as a final clause; or ὥς μέλλοι may be taken like ὥς . . . ξυμβαίνοι, above* (G. 233). — ὅπως μὴ ἀποπίπτοι (G. 216).

6. τὰ ἐπιμαχώτατα, *the parts most exposed to attack*. — ἐξεργασάμενοι (G. 279, 2). — αὐτό, *of itself, naturally*. — ἐποιοῦντο, sc. τὸ πρᾶγμα. — ὥς . . . οὐχ ὑπομενουντας σφᾶς, *accusative absolute* (G. 278, 2, N.; 277, N. 2), *in the belief that they (the Athenians) would not withstand them* (σφᾶς, Spartans). — ληψόμενοι agrees with the subject of ἐποιοῦντο, and is therefore not in the accusative absolute. — ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, *in Attica*, all of which was politically a part of Athens: see, below, ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

7. ὥς . . . κατελημμένης, we should expect the acc. (G. 280); but the genitive is occasionally used, as this case generally follows πυνθάνομαι (G. 171, 2). — οἰκεῖον σφίσι (sc. εἶναι), as we say, *it came home to them*.

Page 194. — πρὸ ἐσβαλόντες refers to the invasion of Attica. — χαμῶν, *bad weather*.

8. οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν περιοίκων, i. e. those who were nearest to the city of Sparta. The perioeci were descendants of the old Achæan population of Laconia, which had been subjugated by the Dorian invasion; they formed an intermediate class between the Dorian aristocracy (οἱ Σπαρτιάται αὐτοί) and the Helots (who were slaves). — ὑπερενέχθῃσαι, *carried over the isthmus by machines*. A canal had been cut through this Leucadian isthmus about two centuries before, but it had since been choked by sand so as to be impassable. — περὶς here means *land force*, as it opposed to naval forces: see note on Herod. II. § 23. — προσπλεόντων (temporal). — φθάσας, *hastily*. — ἀγγεῖλαι (G. 265).

9. καὶ connects ἐργασμένον and ἐνόντων, as both contain reasons for ἐλπίζοντες . . . αἰρήσαν. — ἦν . . . ἔλωσι might have been εἰ . . . ἔλαιν (G. 248). — ἐς αὐτόν (G. 191, N. 6).

10. Σφακτηρία, the long island now called *Sphagia*, which nearly closes the entrance to the great bay of Navarino. The channels on both sides, however, are now much wider than they were in 425 B. C. See plan of Pylus. — τῇ μὲν . . . τῇ δέ, *on one side* (i. e. the northern), *and on the other*.

Page 195. — ὀκτὼ ἡ ἑννέα, *sc. ναυσὶ διάπλουν*, i. e. eight or nine ships could sail through the channel abreast. — ἀντιπρόροις, *with their prows facing* (any one entering the bay).

11. τῶν καταλεφθεισῶν : of the five ships left him (§ 6) two had been sent to summon Eurymedon (§ 8). — προσσταύρωσε, *he built a stockade* (to defend them) *in addition* to the protection afforded by the fort. — παραγενόμενοι (G. 279, 2).

12. ἣν προσβάλλῃ, *sc. ὁ πεζός* (G. 248). — ἐκείνους, i. e. the Lacedaemonians.

13. ἄραντες : Thucydides often uses ἀῤω intransitively (perhaps with ναὺς or στόλον understood) of *making a movement* with a fleet or an army.

Page 196. — οἱ δὲ . . . ἐποιοῦντο : the meaning is, that they made divisions, each containing few ships ; and made their attacks with single divisions, allowing the others to rest in the mean time. — ἐν μέρει, *in turn*, belongs equally to ἀναπαύοντες and to the following words. — εἰ πως . . . θύοιεν, *in case they should succeed in capturing the fort, &c.* (G. 226, 3, N.).

14. ἐγένετο, *made himself* (not *was*). — σχεῖν, like προσσχεῖν above, *to effect a landing*. — ἀποκνῶντας follows ὁρῶν (G. 280). — τῶν νεῶν (*sc. τινάς*) belongs to ξυνδιατρίψουσιν. — ξύλων, (mere) *timbers*. — φειδομένους belongs to the omitted subject of περιδεῖν. — πεπονημένους (G. 279, 3). — ὀκείλαντας belongs to τοὺς ξυμμάχους, which is subject of κρατῆσαι as well as of ἀποκνήσαι.

15. τοιαῦτα and πολλά (G. 159, N. 2). — παρεξαρσία was applied to those parts of the ship (either at the bow or the stern) which were beyond the seats of the rowers, ἔξω τῆς εἰρεσίας. — περιερύη (*v. περιρρέω*), *slipped from around* (his arm). — προσβολῆς depends on δ, being attracted from the antecedent clause where it would depend on τρόπαιον. — τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ὑποχωρούντων (G. 277, 2), connected by καὶ with the causal dative χαλεπότητι.

16. καὶ ταύτης, *and that too*, as often καὶ ταῦτα. — ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης is nearly equivalent to πολὺ μέρος τῆς δόξης, ἐπὶ πολὺ being used almost like a substantive (see § 4). The meaning is, *it made at that time much of the glory of the one* (the Spartans) *that they were peculiarly an inland people, &c., and of the others* (the Athenians) *that they were maritime, &c.* — ἐν τῷ τότε (G. 141, N. 3). ἡπαρώταις, predicate after εἶναι (G. 138, N. 8) ; so θαλασσίους, *sc. εἶναι*.

Page 197. — 17. παρ-ἑπεψαν, *sent along* (the coast). — Ἀσίγην, a seaport on the Messenian Gulf. — ἐλπίζοντες . . . μηχαναῖς : the clause ὕψος μὲν ἔχεν depends on the idea of *thinking* implied in ἐλπίζοντες, the direct discourse being, ὕψος μὲν ἔχει, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὕσης ἐλθεῖν

μηχαναίς, though the wall is high ; still, since this is the best place for landing, we shall take it by engines. — ὅπη καθορμίσωνται (G. 244) ; the optative might have been used here. — ἦν μὲν . . . ἐθέλωσι, sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (G. 247) ; an apodosis like ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες, to have a sea-fight, is to be supplied from ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. — εἰ δὲ μή, otherwise ; see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, N. 2 : the full sentence would be ἦν δὲ μή ἐθέλωσι. — ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπισπλευσόμενοι, with the intention of themselves sailing in against them (G. 277, N. 2). — καὶ οἱ μὲν, i. e. the Lacedaemonians. — ἀ διανοήθησαν : see § 9. — φράζει, in apposition with the antecedent of δ. — οὕτε . . . ἐτυχον ποιήσαντες (G. 279, 2), nor did they happen to do.

18. γνόντες, perceiving, i. e. that the entrances were open. — ἐκάτερον : see § 10. — καὶ μετεώρους . . . ἀντιπρόρους, both already afloat and with prows pointing towards them. — ὡς διὰ βραχέος, as (was likely) at so short a distance, belongs to what follows. — ἔτρωσαν, disabled, seldom used of ships. — αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν (G. 188, 5, N.). — ἐν τῇ γῇ, where we should expect ἐς τὴν γῆν ; by a mixture of two expressions, ἐν τῇ γῇ οὐδαίς and ἐς τὴν γῆν καταπεφευγυῖαις. Krüger remarks that this use of ἐν for ἐς is found in Attic Greek only with the perfect. — πληροῦμεναι, i. e. as they were taking their crews on board. — ἀναδούμενοι, making fast to them (G. 123, N. 1).

19. ἐπεσβαίνοντες, see ἐπεσπλευσόμενοι in § 17, above.

Page 198. — τῶν νεῶν, genitive after ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι (G. 171, 1), instead of accusative after ἀνθεικλον. — ἐν τούτῳ . . . παρήν (for ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ . . . ᾧ τινι μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρήν), each man believed that there had been slow progress in any work in which he had not been personally present : κεκωλύσθαι represents the impersonal κεῖ-άλνται, there has been a hindrance, of the direct discourse ; for ᾧ μὴ τινι παρήν, see G. 232, 1. — ἀντηλλαγμένους, mutually changed. — περὶ τὰς ναῦς belongs to ἐγένετο θόρυβος. — ὡς εἰπείν (G. 268). — ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἤ, i. e. they were doing nothing else than. — ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον, as far as possible. — περιέπλεον, they sailed round the island, in token of defiance. — καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων, i. e. from all, as well as from the few mentioned in § 8.

20. τὰ τέλη, the magistrates, used like αἱ ἀρχαί, the authorities : it takes masculine participles (G. 138, N. 4). — ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ, upon what they acknowledged (ὡς) to be a great calamity. — παραχρῆμα, on the spot, belongs to ὁρῶντας ; and δ τι ἂν δοκῇ το βουλευέαν. — ἀδύνατον ὄν (G. 280). — παθεῖν and κρατηθῆναι depend on κινδυνεύαν. — παθεῖν τι is a common euphemism for θανεῖν. — τὰ περὶ Πύλον is used as if σπασαμένους preceded, having made a truce for the neighborhood of Pylus ; like σπένδασθαι ἀναίρεσιν τοῖς νεκροῖς, to make a truce for the removal of the dead (Thucyd. III. 24).

21. Λακεδαιμονίους . . . παραδοῦναι (G. 271). — ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν, like πόλεμον ἐπιφέρειν.

Page 199. — στρον τακτὸν καὶ μεμαγμένον, meal (lit. grain) in a fixed quantity and ready-kneaded : a χοῖνιξ was about a quart, and a κοτύλη about half a pint. — κρέας, a piece of meat, of course limited in size. — θορά-

ποντες are Helots. — ὁρῶντων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, *under the inspection of the Athenians*. — ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας, *so far as (they can) without landing*.

22. ὃ τι δ' ἂν . . . παραβαίνωσιν καὶ ὅποιον, *and whatever of these terms either party shall transgress, even in any particular*, = ἣν τι . . . παραβαίνωσιν (G. 232, 3). — λελύσθαι, *shall (at once and beyond question) be void* (G. 202, N. 2). — ἰσπεῖσθαι αὐτάς, *that it (the treaty) shall be considered as having been made*. — μέχρι οὐ, *until*, takes the subjunctive or optative like the simple μέχρι (G. 239, 2) : for ἂν omitted, see G. 239, 2, N. — οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, *lit. the ambassadors from Athens*, by *prolepsis* (πρόληψις, *anticipation*). — ἐλθόντων (sc. τῶν πρέσβειν), *on their return*. — λελύσθαι, perfect (as above), *shall be (finally) void* ; while ἀποδοῦναι is the aorist infinitive in its ordinary use (G. 202), *shall return*. — ὁμοίας ὁλοσπερ refers to the condition of the ships. — παραλάβωσιν refers to the future (G. 232, 3), its apodosis being found in ἀποδοῦναι. — ἐπὶ τοῦτοις, *on these terms*.

Four chapters here omitted contain the speech of the Spartan embassy in the Athenian assembly. "Their proposition was in substance a very simple one, — Give up to us the men in the island, and accept, in exchange for this favor, peace, with the alliance of Sparta." Grote.

23. τοσαῦτα (G. 148, N. 1) refers to the speech here omitted. — ἐπιθυμῆν, κωλύεσθαι, δέχεσθαι, and ἀποδώσειν represent in the direct discourse ἐπεθύμουν, ἐκωλύοντο (G. 203, N. 1), δέχονται, and ἀποδώσουσιν. — σφῶν, the Spartans (G. 144, 2). — διδομένης, *offered* (G. 200, N. 2). — τὰς σπονδὰς . . . ποιέσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς, *that they now had the treaty in their own power, to negotiate it with them (the Spartans) whenever they might please*. — ἐτοῖμος is here declined with two terminations (G. 63, N.). — ποιέσθαι is middle, and has σπονδὰς understood as its object.

24. τοὺς ἐν νήσῳ is subject of κομισθῆναι : δῦλα and σφᾶς αὐτοὺς are objects of παραδόντας. — ἐλθόντων, see § 22, above. — Λακεδαιμονίους, subject of κομίσασθαι, *recover*. — ἀπὸ . . . ξυμβάσεως, i. e. by the Thirty Years' Truce, made in 445 B. C., by which Athens gave up all her rights in Peloponnesus. (See Thucyd. I. 115 ; Grote, Vol. V. Chap. 45.) — κατὰ ξυμφοράς, *in consequence of defeats*. — δεομένων . . . σπονδῶν, *being then somewhat more in need of a truce* : for τι, see G. 160, 2.

Page 200. — 25. ξυνέδρους, i. e. a committee. — σφίσιν (G. 144, 2), i. e. for the Spartans. — οἵτινες . . . ξυμβήσονται (G. 236, N. 3). — πολὺς ἐνέκειτο, *was vehement against them* (G. 138, N. 7). — γινώσκεν . . . πρότερον, imperfect infinitive (G. 203, N. 1). — ἔχοντας . . . αὐτοὺς (G. 280). — οἵτινες, causal relative (G. 238). — εἰ διανοοῦνται (G. 248, 1). — τι belongs to ξυγχωρεῖν (G. 159), *to make any concession*. — οὐ τυχόντες, *not having gained [their object]*. — ποιήσοντας, like ὄν, depends on ὁρῶντες.

26. ἰσχυρίζόμενοι, *maintaining stoutly* (ἰσχυρῶς). — λελύσθαι, used as in § 22. — ἀδίκημα, *as an act of injustice*, follows τὸ τῶν νεῶν.

27. τὰ περὶ Πύλον ἐπολεμείτο, passive for τὰ περὶ τὸν Πύλον πολεμεῖν, *to carry on the war about Pylus* (G. 198). — ὅπότε . . . εἴη, belongs only

to the preceding clause, *except, in case of a wind, &c.* (G. 233). — ἐβδομήκοντα, see § 17.

Page 201. — εἰ τις παραπίσσοι (sc. καιρός), *in case one should occur* (G. 226, 3, N.), not an indirect question. — ὥστε . . . σῶσαι, connected with καιρόν.

28. ὅτι μὴ μία, *except one*; here ὅτι was originally the relative ὃ τι, and the ellipsis was ὃ τι μὴ ἦν μία (*none which was not one*). — οἷον εἰκὸς ἴδωρ, *such water as was to be expected* (i. e. on the coast, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ). — αἱ μὲν . . . ἄρμουν, i. e. some of the ships came near the shore for the crews to take their meals, while others were anchored at some distance from the shore.

29. οὕς, causal, = ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς (G. 238). — ἡμερῶν (G. 179, 1). — ἐν νήσῳ, sc. ὄντας. — αἰτιον ἦν (G. 135, N. 4). — τὸν βουλόμενον, *quemvis*, subject of ἐσάγειν. — ἀληθευόμενον, v. ἀλέω (G. 104). — τάξαντες, &c., *having fixed [its price] at a large sum*, i. e. *offering a high price for it*. — ἐσαγαγόντι, past to the future idea of *giving* implied in ὑποσχομένοι. — τῆς νήσου, partitive genitive.

30. ἐτήρουν ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεισθαι, *they watched [for a chance] to be carried in by the wind*: opposed to δοῖσι δὲ . . . ἡλίσκοντο. The intermediate words explain ἀνέμῳ καταφέρεισθαι — τοῖς δέ, as if τοῖς μὲν (referring to the Athenians) had preceded ἀπορον. — ἀφειδής, *reckless, without regard to risk*: the following clause with γάρ gives the reason of their recklessness. — τετιμημένα χρημάτων, *rated in money*, i. e. since it was understood that a certain sum would be paid for them if they were injured (G. 142, 3). — οἱ ὀπλίται, i. e. of the besieged. — ἐφύλασσον, *were watching* (for them). — κατὰ τὸν λιμένα, i. e. on the side of the great harbor. — καλωδίῳ, *by a cord*, diminutive of κάλας. — μήκωνα, *poppy-seed*, which mixed with honey was taken to relieve hunger. — λίνου σπέρμα, *flax-seed*.

Page 202. — σφᾶς (G. 144, 2) is the object of λανθάνειν, to which τοὺς ἐσπέρποντας or τὸ ἐσπέρπειν is understood as subject.

31. τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπιλάβοι, *might come upon their blockade*. — ἔχοντας τι ἰσχυρόν, *having some strong ground of confidence*. — δεξάμενοι (G. 277, 2).

32. κωλύης, see § 24. — ταῦτά οἱς διεβαλλεν = ταῦτά ἐκείνοις οὕς (G. 153, N. 1). — for the case of εἰπὼν and ψευδής, see G. 138, N. 8. — φανήσεσθαι may depend on ἀναγκασθήσεται, in the exceptional construction noticed in G. 202, 3 (see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2, a); or it may depend on γινώσκει irregularly, and by a change of construction. — καὶ ἄρμημένους . . . γνώμη, *even somewhat more inclined in mind*. — ἀπεσήμεναι, *he alluded*. — ῥᾴδιον εἶναι depends on the idea of *saying* implied either in ἀπεσήμεναι or in ἐπιτιμῶν. — παρασκευῇ, *with a (proper) force*. — εἰ ἄνδρες εἴεν, *if the generals were men*, representing εἰ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν of the direct form (like εἰ μὴ πιστεύουσι and εἰ δοκεῖ above); not the same with εἰ ἄνδρες ἦσαν. — αὐτός γ' ἂν . . . ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, *he would have done this himself, if he had been in command*. See G. 211 and 222 (ποιῆσαι ἂν = ἐποίησα ἂν). — αὐτός is adjective (G. 145, 1); for its case see G. 138, N. 8.

33. ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, *against Cleon*. — ὅ τι σὺ . . . πλέα, [asking] *why he did not sail, even as things stood*. — εἰ φαίνεται, *if it appeared*, might have been εἰ φαίνοντο, like εἰ . . . εἰν in § 32. — τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι, *so far as they (the generals) were concerned* (G. 268, N.). — ἀφίναί, *resigned*. — παραδωσέοντα (desiderative of παραδίδωμι), *wished to transfer it [the command]*.

Page 203. — οὐκ ἔφη . . . στρατηγέιν (G. 138, N. 8). — οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενος . . . τολμήσαι, here τολμήσαι ἂν = τολμήσειεν ἂν (G. 211): compare ποιῆσαι ἂν in § 32.

34. ἔξανεχόρει (transitive), *sought to escape from what he had said*. — οὐκ ἔχων ὅπως . . . ἔξαπαλλαγῇ, indirect question for πῶς ἔξαπαλλαγῶ; (G. 244), *not knowing how he should longer evade, &c.* — οὔτε φοβέσθαι . . . πλεύσεσθαι τε λαβών, &c. represents οὔτε φοβοῦμαι . . . πλεύσομαι τε λαβών, &c., of the direct form; so below, ταῦτα ἔχων ἢ ἄξω . . . ἢ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτενῶ. For λαβών and ἔχων see G. 138, N. 8. — ἐκ τε Αἰνίου, *from Aenos*, on the coast of Thrace; this τέ would naturally stand after πέλταστας. — ἦσαν βεβοηθηκότες, periphrastic pluperfect (G. 98, 2, N.). — αὐτοῦ, *on the spot*. — ὁσμένοις ἐγίγνετο, *were pleased with what had happened*, lit. *it happened to them pleased* (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — τοῦ ἑτέρου, *one or the other (of two)*. — ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι depends (in sense) on λογιζόμενοις, being in apposition with τεύξεσθαι. — χερῶσασθαι would regularly stand in the same construction (i. e. in the future), but it depends on the idea of *hoping* implied in the preceding words (see G. 203, N. 2): translate ἢ σφαλείσι . . . χερῶσασθαι, *or, if they should be disappointed in this calculation (i. e. in getting rid of Cleon), [hoping] to get the Lacedaemonians into their hands*. — σφαλείσι = εἰ σφαλείμεν (G. 226, 1).

35. διαπράξαντες and προσελόμενος belong to Κλέων understood. — προσ-ελόμενος, *taking, in addition to himself*; so προσ-ἔλαβε. — ὥρμητο, *were eager*. — ῥώμην . . . παρίσχεν, *also the burning of the island gave him encouragement*. — στρατοπέδῳ follows προσβάλλοντας. — βλάπτειν ἂν depends on ἐνόμize, to be supplied from the preceding clause.

Page 204. — 36. προσίσχοντας agrees with the omitted subject of ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι instead of standing in the genitive (G. 138, N. 8, end). — διὰ προφυλακῆς, *under guard* (lit. *an outpost*). — κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης, *a small extent of the forest*: cf. ἐπὶ πολὺ, § 4, above, and note. — ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν (G. 279, 2): for [καί] see below. — ἐλάσσοσι, *for a less number than they pretended*: ὑπονοῶν (with πρότερον) is imperfect participle (G. 204, N. 1). — τήν τε νῆσον . . . οὔσαν: this clause is transferred from its usual place after ποιεῖσθαι by Classen, on Krüger's suggestion: καί above is enclosed in brackets by Classen. Without these changes the passage is hardly intelligible. — ἀξιόχρεων . . . ποιεῖσθαι, i. e. *a thing which deserved greater pains on the part of the Athenians*.

37. ὡς ἦξον (G. 280, N. 4). — ἅμα γινόμενοι = ξυνελθόντες. — σφίσι, the Athenians. — κελεύειν παραδοῦναι depends on προκαλούμενοι, but is also understood with βοῦλονται: *summoning them, if they wished, to command*,



θρ. — ἐφ' ᾧ, on condition that (G. 236, N. 2) : τηρήσονται, as passive. — συμβαθῇ : the active would be συμβαίνειν τι, to make some agreement (G. 159, N. 2). See §§ 55, 56. — νυκτός, i. e. before daybreak, included in τῇ ὀσπεραίᾳ. — ὀλίγον belongs to πρὸ τῆς ἑα. — τῆς νήσου, partitive genitive after ἐκατέρωθεν, which implies that they landed from both sides.

38. ὧδε, as follows. — διετετάχατο (G. 122, 2). — καὶ ὁμαλώτατόν τε καὶ περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, and what was at the same time (τέ) most level and near the water. — αὐτὸ τοῦσχατον, the very farthest [corner] of the island, explained by τὸ πρὸς τὴν Πύλον.

Page 205. — λίθων (G. 167, 4). — λογάδην : see § 5. — εἰ . . . καταλαμβάνοι, i. e. if they should be driven to a forced retreat ; βίαιόττερα : the comparative implies greater compulsion than they then had reason to expect.

39. οἷς ἐπέδραμον (G. 187), see δρόμος, end of § 37 : ἐπιτρέχω in this sense may take the accusative. — λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, not being perceived in their landing (G. 160, 1) : although this belongs to Ἀθηναῖοι, it is connected by καὶ to the other descriptive clause ἐν τε ταῖς εὔναις ἔτι, which refers to φύλακας. — αὐτῶν refers to φύλακας : the participial clause is more prominent in the genitive absolute than if the participle agreed with its noun. — ἐς ἑφορμον : see § 27. — ἅμα δὲ ἐπ' (G. 186). — θαλαμίων : these were the rowers of the lowest bench of a trireme, those of the upper and middle benches being called θρανῖται and ζυγῖται. — ὡς ἕκαστοι (sc. ἔτυχον), in various ways. — κατεῖχον (neuter), were stationed.

40. διέστησαν, divided themselves. — πρὸς δὲ τι ἀντιάζονται, indirect question (G. 244). — ἀμφίβολοι, properly, in a position in which they were attacked on every side (πανταχόθεν βαλλόμενοι) ; here perhaps simply in perplexity, not knowing which way to turn : see § 47, below. — ἐκατέρωθεν : on either side.

41. οἱ περὶ (G. 141, N. 3). — ὅπερ ἦν πλείστον = τὸ πλείστον, or οἱ πλείστοι, the greater part. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, in front of them, opposed to ἐκ πλαγίου, on the sides. — οὗτοι, i. e. οἱ ὀπλίται, called ἐκείνοι below.

Page 206. — προσκείμεντο (G. 233 ; see 129, V.). — καὶ οἱ, and they (G. 151, N. 3). — προλαμβάνοντες τῆς φυγῆς, getting the start in flight (lit. securing beforehand a part of their flight), like προλαμβάνειν τῆς ὁδοῦ (G. 170), — τραχέων ὄντων, sc. τῶν χωρίων, expressing the cause of προκαταλαμβάνοντες, and connected by καὶ to the causal dative χαλεπότητι. — ὅπλα, i. e. the heavy arms of ὀπλίται.

42. προσπίπτοιν, sc. οἱ ψιλοί (G. 233). — ὄντας (G. 280). — τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι, in their defence. — νεωστὶ κεκαυμένης, see § 36. — ἔχοντα πολλὰς ἀνὰ, rose thick. — τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, what was before him, αὐτοῦ referring to τινὰ understood as subject of ἵσθαι.

43. πῆλοι, cuirasses of felt (Liddell and Scott), or perhaps "stuffed clothing of wool or felt" (Grote). — ἕστεγον, were proof against : στέγω (cf. Latin tego) means to keep out what is outside (as applied to a ship which does not

leak), or to hold a liquid without leaking. — βαλλομένων, when they (the Lacedaemonians) were hit. — οὐδὲν . . . χρήσασθαι, compare τί τοῖτοι χρήσομαι; (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — τοῦ προσρᾶν (G. 262, 2): τῇ ὄψει adds little to the meaning of προσρᾶν, to look forward with the sight. — κινδύνου τε . . . καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες, these two clauses denote the circumstances of what precedes (G. 277, 6). — καθ' ὃ τι . . . σωθῆναι, indirect question depending on ἐλπῖδα; the idea being, they were in despair when they thought how they could defend themselves and be saved.

44. ἀναστρέφεισθαι (like Latin *versari*), to move about in a place; sometimes simply to be. — συγκλήσαντες, closing their ranks, forming a close body. — ἐνδοσαν, gave way, retired. — πολλῶ (G. 188, 2).

Page 207. — παρὰ πᾶν, sc. τοῦ ἔρματος. — ἥπερ ἦν ἐπίμαχον refers to παρὰ πᾶν, as if this were an adverb like πανταχῇ.

45. χωρίου ἰσχύϊ, owing to the strength of the place. — περιόδον αὐτῶν καὶ κύκλωσιν οὐκ εἶχον = περιεῖναι αὐτοὺς καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι οὐκ εἶχον: with the verbal nouns ἔχω has the same force as with the infinitive. For αὐτῶν, see G. 167, 3. — ἐξ ἐναντίας, in front, i. e. directly upon them — ὥσασθαι, like ἐξελάσασθαι below. — σφῶν τῆς κυκλώσεως, like αὐτῶν κύκλωσιν above. — ἐς τὰ πλάγια, the act of surrounding, κύκλωσις, implies an attack upon the sides (G. 191, N. 6).

46. ἀπέραντον ἦν, it (the business) was endless. — ἔφη, &c.: the direct discourse would be: ἄλλως (in vain) πονοῦμεν ἡμεῖς · εἰ δὲ βούλεισθε ἡμοὶ δοῦναι . . . μέρος τι, περιεῖναι (G. 265) . . . ὁδῶ ἢ ἂν αὐτοὺς εὕρω, δοκῶ βιάσασθαι (I have a mind to force) τὴν ἐφοδον. When δοκῶ has this meaning, the dependent infinitive does not stand in indirect discourse (G. 202 and 203). — κατὰ νότον αὐτοῖς, in their rear (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον . . . νῆσου, i. e. wherever he could find a place which offered a foothold on the steep cliffs of the island; ἀεὶ being used as in ὁ ἀεὶ βασιλεὺς, whoever was king. — περιελθὼν ἑλαθεν, he got round unobserved (G. 279, 2). — τοὺς μὲν, the Lacedaemonians; τοὺς δέ, his friends. — τῷ ἀδοκῆτῃ, by the unexpected act, or by the unexpectedness of the act (G. 139, 2).

47. γινόμενοι . . . ξυμπτάματι, falling into the same mischance: σύμπτωμα (rare in classic Greek) means properly the coincidence of one thing with another (whence our *symptom*); then *accident*, mischance. — ὡς εἰκάσαι (G. 268). — τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, sc. ξυμπτάματι, depending on τῷ αὐτῷ (G. 186). — οὗτοί τε corresponds to ἐκεῖνοί τε, and the following words (through ὑπεχώρουν) belong to it, leaving οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι without a verb. — πολλοῖς τε . . . καὶ ἀσθενεῖς σωματῶν gives two reasons for ὑπεχώρουν, and διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν gives the reason for ἀσθενεῖς.

48. γνοῖς (G. § 138, N. 2, b) would regularly have been γνόντες: see ἐπαυσαν. (G. 135, N. 1.)

Page 208. — ὅτι . . . διαφθαρησόμενους: after γνοῖς we might have either ὅτι διαφθαρῆσονται (-σονται) or διαφθαρησόμενους without ὅτι (G. 280); a mixture of constructions like this in so simple a sentence probably comes from mere carelessness. — εἰ πως ἐπικλασθεῖαν (G. 226, N.;

248, 2), in case they should be broken in spirit: if [τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι] is not an interpolation here (as it seems to be), it must depend on the idea of compulsion or persuasion implied in the preceding words. — τοῦ δαινοῦ (G. 175, 2). — παραδοῦναι may depend on ἐκήρυξαν or on βούλονται (or on both): either they proclaimed (to them) to surrender, &c., if they wished; or they proclaimed (to them), if they wished to surrender, &c., to do so. — ὥστε βουλευσαί, on condition that (G. 266, 2) they (the Athenians) should determine. — ὁ τι . . . δοκῇ (G. 232, 3). — παρήκαν . . . ἀνέσεισαν, lowered their shields and waved their hands, to signify assent. — προσίσθαι, assent to (lit. admit): the participial construction common with δηλώω (G. 282) is not used here, as the expression δηλοῦντες προσίμενοι would be awkward.

49. ἐκείνων, the Lacedaemonians. — ἐφηρημένου, chosen as successor (ἐπι-). — εἰ . . . πάσχοιεν, in case anything should happen to those (the other two).

50. διακηρυκέσασθαι, to send heralds over (δια-), implying to ask; on which idea ὁ τι . . . ποιεῖν depends. — ἐκείνων . . . ἀφέντων, the Athenians not letting any one of them (the Lacedaemonians) go on this errand. — ἀπήγαγεν ὅτι (G. 241, 1, end): the quotation is here direct, and ὅτι is not to be translated. — μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιοῦντας, provided ye do nothing disgraceful.

51. διεκομίσαντο, carried their dead over (δια-) to the mainland.

Page 209. — 52. ὀκτώ, genitive with ἀποδέοντες (G. 77, 2). — Σπαρτιάται: of the 292 prisoners, about 120 were full-blooded Spartan citizens, some of them of the first families in Sparta; the others were Lacedaemonian perioeci (see note on § 8). — οὐ σταδία, not a regular hand-to-hand battle, pugna stataria. — ἐν αἷς . . . ἀπήσαν, while the ambassadors went away; but the emendation ἀπήσαν, were absent, is generally accepted here. — λάθρα, as described in § 30. — ἐνδεστέρας . . . ἐξουσίαν, i. e. more sparingly than the state of his supplies required.

53. ἀπέβη, was fulfilled (lit. came out). — ὥσπερ ὑπέστη, as he undertook to do: see § 34. — μάλιστα qualifies παρὰ γνώμην. — ἤξιουν . . . παραδοῦναι, i. e. they did not think it possible for the Lacedaemonians to surrender their arms (lit. they did not expect the Lacedaemonians to surrender, &c.). — ἀποθνήσκαι, sc. ἤξιουν.

54. μὴ εἶναι (G. 283, 6). — καὶ τινος . . . τῶν ξυμμάχων: Thucydides seems to wish to relieve the Athenian citizens from the charge. — δι' ἀχθῆ-δόνα, to annoy him. — εἰ . . . κἀγαθοί: the question was asked in a way which implied that those who were not killed were not καλοὶ κἀγαθοί. — εἶναι ἄν = ἦν ἄν. — τὸν ἀτρακτον, the shaft, used both for a spindle and for an arrow; the words λέγων τὸν οἰστόν imply that ἀτρακτος was not the common Attic name for arrow. — ὁ ἐντυγχάνων . . . λίθοις, he who happened to be struck by (lit. he who met with) stones, &c.

Page 210. — 55. μέχρι οὗ τι ξυμβῶσιν (G. 239, N.), until they should have come to some (τι) agreement: see § 37 (συμβαθῆν). — ἐξαγαγόντες

(G. 138, N. 8). — *ὡς ἐς πατρίδα ταύτην*, for *ἐς ταύτην ὡς ἐς πατρίδα*, to be joined with *πέμψαντες*. These "Messenians of Naupactus" were settled in this place (in Ozolian Locris, north of the Corinthian Gulf) by the Athenians, who took them under their protection after the surrender of Ithome (in Messenia) in 455 B. C. (For the revolt of the Helots and the long siege of Ithome, see Grote, Chap. XLV.) — *οὕτως*, shown by *ποτέ* to be imperfect (G. 204, N. 1), *which was a part, &c.* See § 4, above; and *ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες*, below. — *ὁμόφωνοι*, of the same (Greek) dialect.

56. *μή . . . τι νωτερισθῇ*, lest some revolution of still greater magnitude should be stirred up for them in the country: this represents an active construction *νωτερίζειν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν*, to revolutionize some of the affairs in the country. For *σφίσι*, see G. 184, 3, N. 4. — *ἐνδηλοὶ εἶναι*: a participle is understood, to be supplied from *οὐ βραδίως ἔφερον* (G. 280, N. 1). — *κομίζεσθαι*, to recover. — *φουτώντων*, genitive absolute with a pronoun to be supplied from *αὐτούς*. See note on § 39, above. — *ἀπράκτους*, active, = *οὐδὲν πράξαντας*.

In the year after the taking of Sphacteria (B. C. 424), the historian Thucydides was appointed to a command in Thrace, where he had a family estate in a district rich in gold mines. While he was in command, Amphipolis was suddenly attacked by the Spartan Brasidas. Thucydides was summoned to bring aid; but Brasidas entered Amphipolis a few hours before Thucydides with his fleet sailed into the mouth of the Strymon, at Eion, about three miles below Amphipolis. For this misfortune or fault the historian was banished from Athens. His exile (of "twenty years," as he says) he spent in regions under the Spartan rule, chiefly in Peloponnesus, gathering the materials of his history. His death took place about B. C. 401, when he was near the age of seventy.

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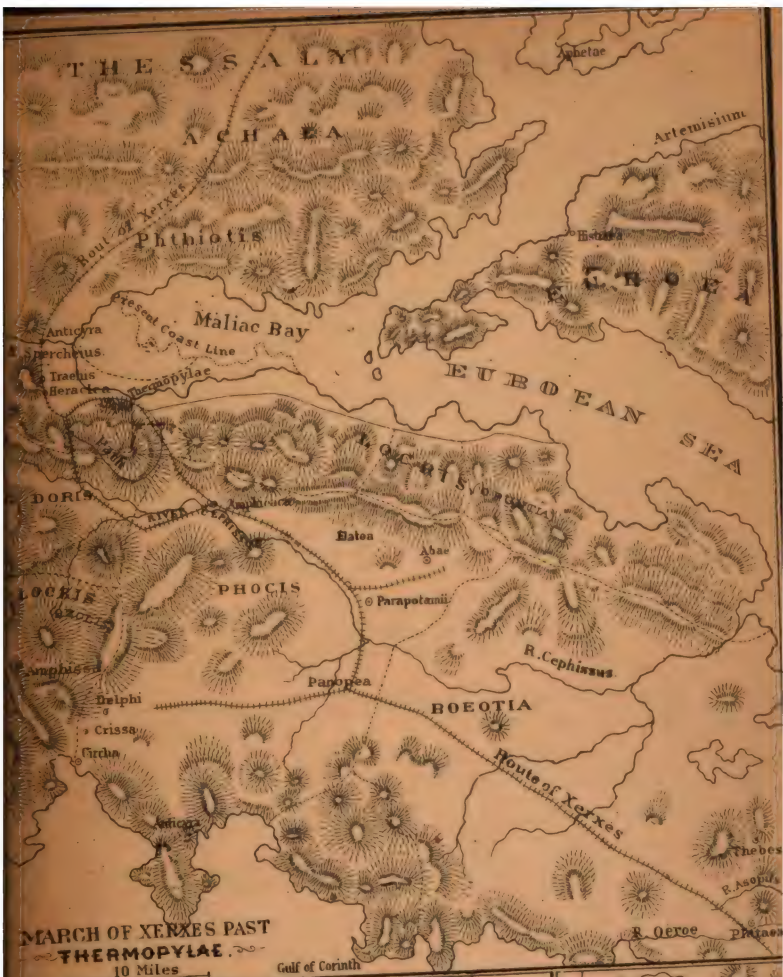
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